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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE CONFERENCE DISCUSSED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 4, Apr 77 pp 23-31

[Article by Deputy Foreign Minister Janos Nagy: "Helsinki Accounting — Belgrade Preparation"]

[Text] This summer the carrying out of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will reach a new stage. On 15 June the delegates of the 35 signatory countries will begin their deliberations in Belgrade to prepare for the autumn meeting of the representatives designated by the foreign ministers, setting the date, agenda, duration and other modalities. Preparations and evaluations are being carried out in the participating countries. What did Helsinki bring? How far are we advanced in carrying out the long-range program that was outlined? Is Europe's progress toward peace rapid and consistent enough? Politicians, diplomats and commentators are gathering information to answer such questions and weigh the facts.

The Belgrade meeting is new to the extent that it will be the first occasion since the Helsinki summit conference that official representatives of all the signatories will assemble for a collective exchange of experiences. The Final Act is the foundation. And although it is in itself the product of a definite historical process, a compromise document created to strengthen the peaceful coexistence of the two social systems, it is at the same time an important stage in the continuing process directed at developing security and peaceful cooperation. The Final Act emphasizes this outstanding importance of Helsinki. For example, the participating states have expressed their conviction that "in a broader world relationship, the conference is an important component in the process of strengthening European security and developing cooperation, and the results of the conference will contribute significantly to this process." We will, therefore, scarcely interpret the letter and spirit of the Final Act incorrectly by saying that the weight and importance of Belgrade is in the collective assessment of achievements since the realization of the Helsinki agreements and the summit meeting.

The carrying out of the Helsinki Final Act is a condition and function of the advance made by detente. Their mutual effect is obvious: the carrying out of the Final Act will affect detente favorably, but the development of the international political situation is the determining factor; the rate at

which the recommendations in the Final Act is realized also depends on it. Therefore, those who regard dearly the consistent realization of the Final Act must, above all, stand up and work for international detente, and for disarmament. If opportunity is afforded anywhere to Cold War actions and attacks against the historical realities of the present world, the carrying out of the provisions in the Final Act are at least being delayed and at worst permanent damage is being caused thereto.

One of the historical realities of our times is that from the viewpoint of the entire future and dynamics of peaceful coexistence, the relationship between the socialist Soviet Union — with its exceptional possibilities, endowments, economic and military power — and the United States — the strongest capitalist power — is of outstanding importance. Not only in the socialist countries but also in the West European countries, public opinion has widely acknowledged that the Soviet Union has undertaken a prominent part in initiating the European security system, bringing the Final Act to a successful close, and that it always strives with dedication for the full realization of the Helsinki recommendations and precisely fulfills the obligations it has undertaken.

In the past year, the United States — partly because of the presidential election campaign and partly for other reasons — did not show needed activity in this area, and in fact more than a few attacks were sounded from American soil against the principle and practice of European security. Following his entry in office, President Carter repeated the statements he made during the election campaign on a number of basic questions concerning the world situation, and he emphasized his interest in developing Soviet-American cooperation and establishing new agreements to limit strategic armaments. If these words are followed by deeds, then there will be a possibility for progress.

But expectation should be tempered by caution in that the foes of detente in that country would like to shape the foreign policy and international stance of the American government in their own image. In the wake thereof, we have recently witnessed American steps and endeavors which do not contribute to the further improvement of Soviet-American relations and to the deepening of detente. On occasion, it is not a matter of manifesting sympathy toward anti-socialist or anti-detente ideologies or hopes but a matter of political interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries. This campaign is spoiling the general atmosphere of relations and endangering progress in the big problems on the agenda. It would promote European security and cooperation and be to the benefit of the United States itself if this activity were discontinued, if consideration for the existing process of the system of international relations would result in the United States government giving preference, in respect to East-West relations as a whole, to cooperation based on mutual advantages rather than to interference in the internal affairs of socialist countries and to efforts designed at breaking up the unity of the socialist countries.

Less than 2 years have passed since the closing ceremony at Helsinki on 1 August 1975. We do not agree with those circles in Western countries which claim that in these 2 years — through the fault of the socialist countries, they say — practically nothing has happened. These circles have drawn a bead on the Final Act from the beginning, and in their attacks on detente they speak in part of the failure at Helsinki. The participants in the Helsinki summit meeting have not given up — nor can they — the schedule for carrying out the Final Act. They are aware that this program, which is to be valid for many long years and decades, cannot be crowded into several months. We believe that in the past 2 years there have been very important achievements and that the carrying out of the Final Act continues to be on the agenda of all participating countries. The socialist countries, which are in the vanguard, have taken or decided on many unilateral and bilateral steps to apply the Helsinki agreements.

The unilateral measures embrace the Final Act as a whole, from the promotion of economic cooperation and enterprise relations to the various subjects in the "third basket" and to easing travel, exchange of information, and journalistic activity.

Tourism is growing evenly in both directions — if there is a decline anywhere it is not caused by measures taken by socialist countries but is due to the capitalist economic crisis — and in our case, accessibility to the true cultural values of the capitalist countries has not been interrupted and extends to the broadest masses. Following the bilateral steps and initiatives, the relations of the socialist and capitalist states widened further; and despite the obstacles, economic, cultural and scientific cooperation expanded. Many new contracts and agreements are being signed which reflect the statements of the Final Act, and make them an organic part of bilateral relations. At the initiative of the Soviet Union, the first steps have also been taken for the multilateral carrying out of the Final Act.

Naturally, the bilateral and multilateral carrying out of the Final Act is possible only through the combined efforts of the socialist and capitalist countries, and the achievements thus far reflect this. Among the capitalist countries, the neutrals are primarily those who are working on adjusting their practice to the Final Act and take initiatives for the development of East-West relations. Meanwhile, from time to time there are those — even if from understandable impatience — who lose sight of some interrelations in carrying out the Final act and regard partial areas of security and confidence as divorced from circumstances and realities. These problems are discussed at our frequent exchanges of ideas with the neutral countries during which basically it is always affirmed that the governments of these countries will play a positive role in carrying out the Final Act. We are confident that their attitudes at Belgrade also will be characterized by responsibility for European security and cooperation and for peaceful coexistence.

Regarding the NATO and Common Market member states the picture is more varied. The official attitude of the leading capitalist countries, however, particularly of bourgeois propaganda, continues to carry the basic tone that

the capitalist social order, bourgeois democracy, is a model which assures a priori the provisions of the Final Act, and therefore only the socialist countries have anything to do. In addition, it is characteristic of them to choose among the recommendations of the Final Act according to their own taste; some they emphasize, make absolute or excessively exaggerate; others they force into the background.

In contrast to this effort, we believe that the Final Act is a political document which creates a unified whole, and an arbitrary selection and disarrangement of the interrelations attacks the very political bases on which the entire Helsinki document is built. This position of ours is not in contradiction with our concept that the Final Act is a long-range program. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in his speech at Tula last January: "Naturally, we have already succeeded in achieving important results in certain areas of realizing the Final Act, but in other areas the necessary measures will be realized gradually, or we are now only working them out."

Undoubtedly, progress in the spirit of Helsinki would have been faster in many areas if obstacles had not been put in the way with ill intentions by attacking detente as a whole and through malicious propaganda. As the enemies of detente intensified their activities and were able — if only temporarily — to slow down the favorable development of the international situation, it had an effect on the carrying out of the Final Act. Now before the Belgrade meeting they have revived their campaign.

These are not at all new, but now the aspersions have been renewed against a "rapid rate of armament" by the Soviet Union, the "Soviet threat" all of which can be led back to Western military leaders and intelligence organs. The more sober statements — for example, most recently Brown, the American secretary of defense, was compelled to admit that the military strength of the Soviet Union and the United States was essentially equal — are lost in this manipulated propaganda campaign. But the leading circles of NATO are well aware that the policy of "position of strength" was always alien to the Soviet Union, which has always fought against it and keeps its defense capability at the level necessary to deter the aggressor and consistently supports restraining the arms race. As always in the past, this campaign — besides poisoning the international atmosphere — has another dangerous feature: it seeks to exert pressure on the policy of capitalist governments, to frighten Western public opinion, and to prepare the ground for a new wave of armaments.

Recently, we have also witnessed that with the nearing of the Belgrade meeting the reactionary circles in the capitalist countries are "rediscovering" and "re-evaluating" the Final Act. Turning its original mission and purpose inside out, they act as if the Final Act gave them an opportunity to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist countries and openly support enemy groups.

It is not accidental that when the most basic human right — the right to work — is violated, when the internal social tensions are intensifying and the influence of the working class and the progressive forces is on the

rise, then on the pretext of human rights they conduct a campaign in ostensible defense of a handful of socialism's enemies, against the socialist states and alarm their own citizens with the "horrors" of socialism. This is queer logic. The fact that the exit and emigration practices of socialist countries — harmonizing in a far-reaching manner the viewpoints of humanity and the desires of the individual with the requirements of internal-building work — are regulated by law, they seek to make out as contradictory with the Final Act. But that the rigid entry practice of capitalism countries has hardly been eased since Helsinki, that certain countries require signifying party affiliation for granting a visa, and in fact some capitalist countries regularly exclude party members from entry is not even mentioned in the propaganda. That millions of their citizens are without work — which cannot be concealed by unemployment assistance extended to a limited portion of the unemployed and consisting of varying amounts far below full wages and limiting to the development of the personality — is regarded as compatible with the Final Act and basic human rights, and is explained in the light of circumstances.

The Final Act gives no one the right — in fact, it expressly forbids — to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries. But this is exactly what the organizers of the present campaign want to do when they weave phantasies of the existence and strengthening of some kind of "internal opposition" in the socialist countries. Unfortunately, in some places they receive open, and in other places concealed, support and encouragement even from the governments which have officially declared themselves for the development of bilateral relations and the strengthening of security and cooperation.

Of course, these campaigns cannot conceal or cure the internal troubles of the capitalist countries, and they cannot weaken the socialist order. Obviously, their goal is not "defense for the rights" of a few affected persons, but diversion of their own public opinion, poisoning of the European atmosphere, finding fault with the achievement of peaceful coexistence — which is clearly advantageous for the masses in the capitalist countries and the circles of realistic leaders — and finally reversing the process of detente. We can have but one answer: we guarantee true human rights, rights to a knowledgeable life; in the knowledge of this, we reject attempts to interfere in our domestic affairs and we continue to proceed on our way. The socialist countries continue to concentrate their attention on the main trend, on detente, and they will not, at the sight of the ill-intentioned campaign, do the opponents of detente the favor of pulling back, reducing their efforts for strengthening European peace and security and fully carrying out the Final Act.

In the future, too, there will be debates between socialist and capitalist countries over the problem of human rights. We have a different concept of human rights, their real substance, and the spheres of realization. But there are also requirements which are recognized both by international law and generally: these are reflected in the Economic, Social and Cultural

Rights approved at the 21st session of the UN General Assembly and in the International Agreement on Civil and Political Rights. Nine of the capitalist countries which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe have not ratified these important documents and nine have not even signed them. Would it not be more appropriate to the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act if — instead of making baseless accusations — they would urge broader adherence to these agreements.

In preparing for the Belgrade meeting, Hungary, too, is taking into account the effect of its experience concerning the carrying out of the Final Act domestically, and of its international realization. In a number of decisions since August 1975, the central committee of our party has taken the position that we should promote realization of the recommendations in the Final Act through active policies and initiatives. The March 1976 resolution of the Council of Ministers also called for this. After that, there was manifold activity, and it would be difficult to assess altogether how many programs, conferences, visits, and agreements have taken place under the aegis of Helsinki.

In accordance with the fact the Final Act is a political document, we have devoted great attention, in spirit of the ten basic principles which guide the relations of states, to the development of political relations with West European and North American countries. On 1 August 1975, Comrade Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, paid an official visit to Austria, and we were able to receive Urho Kekkonen, president of the Finnish Republic, in our country. Between the Hungarian People's Republic and the developed capitalist states there were four meetings with prime ministers, four with deputy prime ministers, 13 with foreign ministers, even more with ministers and foreign ministry exchange of views, and 51 bilateral agreements. We gained many positive experiences at the meetings, exchanges of ideas, and the discussions in conjunction with agreements. We shall be glad to render an account of these at the Belgrade meeting. Naturally, we do not maintain that all this is due to us — although the initiative was frequently ours — because two sides are necessary for a high-level meeting and the signing of an agreement.

We can also account for achievements in economic cooperation between Hungary and the developed capitalist countries, but it seems that certain capitalist countries are continuing to give secondary attention to the problems of economic, industrial and scientific-technical cooperation included in "Basket Two". In the preparations for the Belgrade meeting the distortion of ratios to the disadvantage of this subject is for this reason evident. In the past 2 years the Common Market countries and the United States paid no attention to eliminating the obstacles in way of economic cooperation, in the spirit of the Final Act, and they willingly ignore the provisions of the Helsinki document relating to this matter. But it would be possible to make progress here, too. This is well shown by the fact that we have made appropriate progress with the majority of the developed capitalist countries that do not belong to the Common Market on the basis of GATT stipulations

and mutual advantages. We are aware that the progress that can be attained in matters belonging in "Basket Two" are decisively affected by the political situation and the development of detente. We should adjust economic cooperation now as well to the level achieved in detente. We should not magnify the differences in the economic systems or the problems that may derive therefrom and represent them as insurmountable obstacles; but rather, in the spirit of the Final Act we need to end discrimination and search for concrete forms of common interest. Such effort is lacking primarily on part of the Common Market countries.

Regarding "Basket Three," cultural and educational cooperation, human relations and exchange of information, our practice is well known and unchanged. Since August 1975, the agreement bases of our cultural relations with the capitalist countries have broadened. But we still should make two observations:

- 1) We are still at the very beginning of giving the cooperation problems in "Basket Three" their appropriate place in bilateral relations, which in the West have been undeservedly forced into the background behind a number of noisy campaign themes.
- 2) In respect to the extent of the exchanges in cultural values and information, we are still at a disadvantage with the West European countries. To a certain extent, language problems limit our opportunities, but the asymmetry is too great even taking this into account, and the Final Act affords a solution to precisely this situation. That in the West, book publishing and film trade is carried on according to the laws of private enterprise does not mean that our Western partners in this field cannot do anything; on the contrary, it means that they need to do more than up to now.

In accordance with the provisions of the Final Act, we devote a great deal of attention to problems of information and information exchange. On one hand, we would like to make the outside world more familiar with life in our socialist homeland, our achievements and problems, and on the other hand we want to give our people objective information about world events. No one in our country attempts — or attempted — to prevent Hungarian public opinion from obtaining news or information about the outside world — in this case, the Western world — but we will not permit views which harm the basic interests of our society, arouse Cold War feelings, or appeal to the base instincts, still slumbering here and there in people, to enter our information system.

Our exit and entry and emigration practices remain unchanged and meet with the satisfaction of the vast majority of affected Hungarian and foreign citizens.

Since in the foregoing there was mention of unilateral steps for carrying out the Final Act, it is necessary to mention here that neither in the Hungarian People's Republic nor in the other socialist countries has there been any such official announcement that we have already fully exhausted the possibilities for unilateral carrying out of the Final Act. We are continuing to

examine what further unilateral steps will become possible parallel with the strengthening of detente and progress in our building of socialism.

We regard bilateral relations, however, as the main area for carrying out the Final Act. Proceeding from this, we made concrete proposals to 18 developed capitalist countries. These proposals stem from the 10 basic principles which guide the relation of states, and based on relations maintained with the individual countries they embrace the entire Final Act beginning with the high-level political exchange of ideas via the requirement for dismantling discriminatory obstacles standing in the way of economic relations to various opportunities for cultural cooperation, easing of travel, and information exchange. The exchange of ideas on the proposals — although we are only at the beginning — has served us with a great deal of experience. Our initiatives have generally encountered a favorable reception. A number of neutral countries have reacted worthily and positively, and we have arrived at an understanding in the bulk of the questions. NATO and the Common Market member states have also announced that they value the Hungarian initiative, and in various questions they have expressed agreement; but a significant portion of their replies to our proposals — surprisingly even in "Basket Three" matters — showed a mixed picture.

Mention is made that the sphere of authority for capitalist countries is considerably narrower than that of governments of socialist countries since in their case the will of private capital prevails not only in the economy but also in culture and information activities. In making our proposals, we took into account in a far-reaching way that the sphere of authority for the governments is not the same. It is also clear, however, that the Final Act was signed not by the representatives of private firms but of states and governments and therefore are primarily accountable for promoting the carrying out of the provisions. On basis of experiences thus far, we feel that when the carrying out of the Final Act on a mutual basis is being discussed, the West European countries attribute a wider scope than is actually the case to areas where their government's authority does not extend, and they divest themselves of responsibility for application of the Final Act. We hope that this will not be their final word; in any event, we shall keep our proposals on the agenda.

Comrade Janos Kadar, the first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, stated the following at a press conference on 7 December 1976 concerning the Hungarian point of view on the Belgrade meeting: "My conviction is that the further promotion of European peace and security affairs requires the participants in the Helsinki conference to represent an appropriate, constructive position also at the Belgrade meeting. One hears many kinds of notions, expectations and opinions relating to the meeting in the Yugoslav capital. We oppose having anyone make a "complaint day" of the Belgrade meeting. We believe that the participants in the Helsinki conference must prepare for the Belgrade meeting with a positive program. A basic stand must be taken which will make it possible at Belgrade again to review problems on further improvements in state relations and the development of economic ties."

Comrade Janos Kadar's statement on the Belgrade meeting emphasizes the importance of its political concept. If there is an understanding on this among the 35 countries, the handling of other problems relating to the meeting will become easier.

This political concept is now being formed. We must start from the Final Act of the security and cooperation conference, which calls on the participants at the Belgrade meeting to conduct a fundamental exchange of ideas "on the realization of the provisions in the Final Act and the carrying out of the tasks defined by the Conference, on the improvement of mutual relations in connection with problems debated at the Conference, on the strengthening of European security and the development of cooperation, and moreover on the further future development of the detente process." The understanding among the 35 countries is widening in the respect that the participants at Belgrade must respect this "mandate," they cannot exceed it, and they have no commission to investigate or modify the Final Act. In our view, the meeting is of a consultative character, an intermediate station on the way to carrying out the Final Act. We are preparing for a kind of exchange of ideas which will not sink into mutual accusations, aimless debates, but will summarize in a constructive way what the individual countries have done to carry out the Final Act and what they plan to do in the future in further application of the Helsinki agreements. That is, as the Final Act provides, the main goal of the Belgrade meeting is not to sow suspicion but to strengthen detente.

The report of the participants on positive experiences gained in carrying out the Final Act will afford an exceptional opportunity for collective exchange of experience. The manner in which individual countries — according to their social systems, internal jurisprudence, customs, and the level of international political and economic relations — have begun to realize the Helsinki recommendations unilaterally, bilaterally and multilaterally show many characteristics. If each participating country obtains only several additional ideas and concepts from the others, we will have made progress. But the matter will not end at this point, for according to their own insights the participants will explain what their governments plan for further carrying out of the Final Act, for developing European security and cooperation, and strengthening detente.

We hope that during the collective exchange of ideas there will be discussions of such subjects as are included in the Final Act but which have been forced thus far into the background. It is well known that there are several hundred recommendations in the Final Act, but up to now only several dozen have been in circulation. At the Belgrade meeting, we must constantly bear in mind that every "basket" of the Final Act, every recommendation is in close logical unity, political mutuality with all the others, and cannot be divorced therefrom, or interpreted by itself.

We still cannot say that a good atmosphere and success are assured for the Belgrade meeting in all respects. Most of the leaders of capitalist countries have taken the position that Belgrade should not spoil the Helsinki spirit, but they do not clearly detach themselves from activity directly in

confrontation thereto. The anti-detente elements take this as encouragement and are seeking for ways to change Belgrade into a forum for calling the socialist countries to account in a way that public opinion will not put the blame for a possible failure of the meeting on Western reactionaries. The supporters of European security and cooperation must do everything possible to keep this maneuver from succeeding. The socialist countries are not going to Belgrade looking for a confrontation. If they attack and slander us, we would have ample material with which to reply. But who will benefit if the meeting sinks into wrangling? Only the enemies of detente!

We also hear of efforts — undoubtedly well-intentioned — to have the Belgrade meeting go beyond the Final Act in confidence-building measures and other military questions. Confidence-building measures have their place in the Final Act; in our opinion, not enough experience has been accumulated as yet to change them, and otherwise the representatives designated by the foreign ministers cannot change that which the state and political leaders signed at Helsinki. And in general it is true: We need not speculate about expanding the "further writ" of the Final Act. What we need to do is carry it out!

It is well known that the socialist countries are waging a persistent struggle for disarmament — this is shown by their attitude at Geneva, Vienna, the UN, and elsewhere. Most recently, for example, the Bucharest proposals of the Political Advisory Body of the Warsaw Pact elicited great interest among the governments and peoples of European countries. Although NATO hurriedly rejected these, the proposals live on and are effective. Taking everything into account, however, we do not believe that the Belgrade meeting can become a new forum for disarmament subjects, and cannot attempt to take on the role of existing forums. It is not due to the lack of forums that progress is slow on disarmament. It is hard to believe that any kind of organizational concept would bring us closer to disarmament measures. Political declarations of will for true disarmament can help, but the neglect of reality can only harm the disarmament cause.

These and similar thoughts are now occupying the countries preparing for the Belgrade meeting. We trust that sober, well-considered positions will prevail and long-range interest in the strengthening of detente will in the end provide the keynote of the Belgrade meeting. This would make it possible to develop an actually constructive exchange of ideas about every question.

The interests of peace require that every participant arrive at the Belgrade meeting with a positive program for strengthening detente. The need for this was strongly emphasized — and thereby the continuity of our foreign policy efforts — by Janos Kadar at the Berlin Friendship Assembly, where he added: "In this effort, we are continuing to count on the realistically thinking political elements in the capitalist countries, on all those who feel a responsibility to continue on the road undertaken in Helsinki toward a peaceful and happy future for the continent and the peoples of the world."

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EXISTENCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CENTER DENIED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 22 No 4, Apr 77 signed to press 24 Feb 77 pp 115-122

[Article by Gustav Hertzfeldt, chief editor, DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK: "Proletarian Solidarity and Broad Antiimperialist Front." Published as a contribution to "an exchange of opinions on problems of proletarian internationalism," organized by the editors of the foreign affairs journals of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia.]

[Text] Guided by proletarian internationalism the socialist states currently provide multilateral political-moral and material aid to all peoples fighting for peace, for social and national liberation, against imperialism. Proletarian solidarity is directed to the struggle for liberation of the working class and the working people. It is anti-imperialist by its very nature. It involves broad social strata and forces which have assembled for the struggle against imperialism. Anti-imperialist solidarity in the broadest sense of the term therefore unites all those who fight for the freedom and independence of peoples, for fundamental human concerns such as the prevention of an annihilating nuclear war, the achievement of peaceful coexistence in the relations between states with varying social systems, international detente, an end to the arms race, and disarmament.

Concise with the new conditions of the class conflict, their rising material and political potential, the shape of the socialist countries proletarian solidarity is increasingly varied and ample.

At present proletarian solidarity as exercised by the socialist states has entered international relations. It is exercised in the United Nations Organization and reflected in international government and legal documents. The socialist countries have not been content to initiate and enrich democratic international law. They have also--in close cooperation with other anti-imperialist forces, especially the nonaligned countries--obtained the increasing application of international law to international relations, used it purposefully in the interest of the social and national struggle for the liberation of the peoples. They are using it as a weapon against imperialist pressure and interference in the internal affairs of other peoples

and states, against imperialist counterrevolution and its export. The proletarian solidarity of the socialist countries is realized in state relations and agreements, in ideological and material aid and support for the achievement of the national independence of the peoples as well as the consolidation of the independence, sovereignty and economic independence of nationally liberated states. Proletarian solidarity among socialist countries is now part and parcel of thousands of modern establishments in industry and agriculture, scientific and educational facilities in Asian, African and Latin American countries, of the trained national cadres of these countries, who were educated in socialist states. It is also evidenced in weapons from the Soviet Union, which purged the skies of Vietnam from the aircraft of the aggressor, which allowed the Arab peoples in the 1973 October war to repel the Israeli aggressors. It is demonstrated in a flood of material commodities which rendered ineffective the imperialist blockade of socialist Cuba, in the aid which allowed Angola to maintain its independence against an "unholy alliance" of imperialists, racists and their stooges. The power, strength and influence of the socialist states, especially, furnish proletarian solidarity with the great ideological and material weight typical for our time.

In the present conditions of the international class conflict, when the balance of power is shifting toward socialism, solidarity is no less significant than it used to be; if anything it is more important. That is reflected, for instance, in the fact that its potential, forms and targets have broadened and deepened to an extraordinary extent. It is also reflected in the fact that solidarity itself has gained in depth. Various, in part quite heterogeneous social forces are united in solidarity for the fight against imperialism. Where do we find the objective causes of this depth of solidarity?

In the increasing objectively caused internationalization of political and economic life, the class war, the increasing interlocking of social and national wars of liberation, in a united revolutionary world process, in the fact that imperialism stands out increasingly as the enemy of the peoples, the obstacle to social development and the renewal of the world, that its inherent aggression implies untold dangers for mankind in this the nuclear age, in the fact finally that, in view of all these reasons, not only the working class or even only the working strata but ever wider social forces are recruited for the struggle against imperialism.

Developing in this process are the appreciation for the necessity of the common struggle, mutual attachment and the appropriate action. In all this we note a remarkable phenomenon of our era, the era of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution: Varied forces struggling for social progress now develop in the direction of attitudes for which proletarian solidarity derived from proletarian internationalism has provided the historic examples.

We welcome and encourage this broad anti-imperialist solidarity with all forces. Anti-imperialist solidarity does not for us contradict proletarian

solidarity because the latter, now as always, has decidedly anti-imperialist implications.

At the same time proletarian solidarity has not simply been "replaced" historically by a wide anti-imperialist solidarity embracing the most varied social forces. It is more than the historic origin of broad-based anti-imperialist solidarity; it is also, and in coordination with the objective nature, weight and role of the forces acting in the world today, its lasting core.

Finally proletarian solidarity determines specific relations and types of cooperation among the communist fraternal parties. The high standard of the proletarian solidarity reflected in this cooperation derives precisely from the fact that it is based on proletarian internationalism which, in turn, has its objective basis in the international nature of the working class, the fundamental agreement of the objective basic interests and final goals of the working class in all countries, the organization of a socialist society. Proletarian internationalism originated from the common situation of the working class in the different countries of capitalism. It reflects the main content and goals of their class war and the general comprehensive nature of the historic inevitabilities of the revolutionary world process. It developed from elementary forms to ever greater sophistication, was embodied in the fighting community and solidarity of the revolutionary parties of the working class and, ultimately, became the basis of qualitatively new international relations, relations between countries which are ruled by the working class, led in turn by their Marxist-Leninist parties, and which, as the historic initiators of a new method of production, build socialism/communism.

On the basis of proletarian internationalism and the proletarian solidarity built on it the communist parties matured and grew stronger, generations of communists were trained. The links between them and the fraternal cooperation of Marxist-Leninist parties enables communists in our era also to meet the demand of Marx and Engels, "to be the most determined, for ever forward striving section of the workers parties in all countries," which "in the different national struggles of the proletarians emphasize and make count the common interests of the proletariat as a whole (which are quite independent of their nationality)", and "in the varied stages of development of the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie always represent the interests of the movement as a whole."¹

It goes without saying that the generally applicable inevitable objective community of interests of the working class and its revolutionary party operate in the respective national conditions. The struggle of the working class in each country must reckon with national peculiarities, traditions, and so on, which also affect the forms of the actual struggle of each Marxist-Leninist party. Furthermore it makes a great difference whether a party is in power, fully bears the responsibility for the development of state and society, or whether it is still fighting for power, whether a party is able to operate legally or struggles in the difficult conditions of illegality.

Obviously all these specific conditions in the struggle of working people of every country must be considered. That is taking into account the equality and independence of every party, its right and duty to independently prepare its strategy and tactics.

None of the differences and peculiarities of the struggle of the working class and its party within the international framework, however, negate the fundamental objective community, the objectively similar interests. As stated in the joint communique lately signed by Erich Honecker and Josip Broz Tito, the objective differences "must not be an impediment to the development of all-round cooperation between the communist and workers parties, between all revolutionary and progressive forces in the struggle for social progress and peace the world over."²

The working class of every country advances and fights on its national soil, in its national conditions. Each communist and workers party is therefore responsible first of all to the working people of its own country. At the same time the struggle of the working class of every country is an objective element of the general revolutionary world process. It follows that the party of the working class in each country shares the responsibility for the great common cause, for the historic mission of the international working class as well as the necessity of proletarian community and solidarity. The indivisible link of national and international responsibility shows clearly that in our era, a time of the great revolutionary renewal of the world, one and the other is increasingly significant.

The international communist and workers movement is a living organism. It develops and continually confronts historically new problems and tasks which it must cope with creatively. At the same time the Marxist-Leninist parties, struggling toward the same targets but in manifold social practices and very different conditions, must creatively generalize the full wealth of experiences of the international movement in order to arrive at definite conclusions for the tasks of the individual parties, and to be able to find new solutions for new problems and tasks. That is a steady creative as well as complex process. Of course opinions may vary with respect to one or the other matter. That is inevitable but does not impair proletarian solidarity, provided that the discussion is based on the community of interests of the working class and its parties.

For example, just lately the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties provided a persuasive example of the agreement on all fundamental matters of the interests of the European working class and their communist parties. Collectively and thoroughly they prepared comprehensive action targets and unanimously adopted them. The SED Central Committee Politburo comments on the Berlin Conference, therefore, state that the different conditions of operation and the different opinions were demonstrated "not to be an obstacle to even closer comradely cooperation by the fraternal³ parties in the struggle for the common and fundamental goals of our movement."

As we observed several times earlier, the desire for unity and the joint action of the communist and workers parties are stronger than the efforts of the class foe, aimed at undermining cooperation.

The class foe attempts to interfere in the process of the creative discussion among the fraternal parties, to exploit differences of opinion on various questions to split the international communist and workers movement, to undermine proletarian solidarity.

While, in the face of the objectively increasing internationalization of political and economic life as well as of the class conflict, he himself endeavors to strengthen his international unity against all progressive forces (calling upon "Atlantic solidarity" and the "European Community"), tries to consolidate his economic and political alliances, NATO, EEC, and so on, sets up new "Internationals" or "European" associations of conservative, Christian or liberal parties, and has no objection to the existence of a "Socialist International," proletarian internationalism and the proletarian solidarity of the communist and workers parties are vilified and fought by any means available.

The class foe fears the stout weapon of proletarian solidarity. Especially, and for reasons all too easily understood, he fears the fraternal community of interests, the proletarian solidarity between real socialism and the workers movement of the capitalist countries, between the communist parties in power and those in the countries of capitalism. The report of the Luxembourg CP Central Committee to its recent party congress says, for example: "The bourgeois parties and socialists constantly advise our separation from the USSR, the CPSU and real socialism in general...so that we may prove our 'independence' and be recognized as 'acceptable' in the capitalist system in which we live."⁴

The Luxembourg Communists, however, state that the intimate friendship and solidarity linking it with the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the other countries of the socialist community of nations are fully consonant with the interests of its working class and its people. They emphasize that the reason for the hatred felt for the socialist countries by the anticommunists is due to the fact that, precisely at the time of the capitalist crisis, the power of attraction of crisis-free real socialism is growing steadily. "Just at this time socialism is demonstrably a more reliable support, a constant encouragement for the peoples who fight for national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism," they conclude.

The common interests of real socialism and the workers movements in the capitalist countries are reflected in the fact, for example, that the communist and workers parties in socialist and capitalist countries not only agreed on common actions at their Berlin Conference, but that the states of the Warsaw Pact (at their latest meeting in Bucharest) also embarked on initiatives which essentially coincide with the programmatic proposals of the Berlin Conference. By adopting as their government policy in the struggle for

detente and disarmament the jointly prepared standpoints and demands of 29 European communist and workers parties, the Warsaw Pact countries put the power and weight of their states at the service of these common concerns of the working class and its communist and workers parties in all of Europe and beyond. They thus meet here also--and in the meaning of proletarian internationalism--their responsibility, their proletarian solidarity toward the international communist movement.

On the other hand the tremendous successes of real socialism, the fact that the Soviet Union is no longer the only socialist state, encircled by capitalism, by no means diminishes the significance of the proletarian solidarity of the workers movement in the capitalist countries with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. On the contrary! This importance increases as a consequence of the growing internationalization of the class conflict, the growing efforts of the class foe to ally himself in the fight against the forces of social progress, and especially against the countries of socialism.

The class foe is wont, in particular, to emphasize and exploit the assertion of a "center" of communist and workers parties, in order to sow dissension and undermine proletarian solidarity.

The Berlin Conference of European communist and workers parties reiterated the well known fact that for the longest time there has been no international body, no international leadership committee of communist and workers parties. L.I. Brezhnev emphasized that at no time had anyone suggested setting up such a center. On the other hand nobody can disregard the fact that the Soviet Union--as stated succinctly in a resolution by the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party--represents a "power base" for all revolutionary movements. It is a fact that the Soviet Union provides the weightiest contribution to world socialism, that its peoples have for 60 years now advanced as pioneers on the historically new path of socialism/communism, that these peoples have made the greatest sacrifices for proletarian solidarity and borne the greatest burdens on that account. From its inception to this day the Soviet Union has been the decisive material basis for the progressive reformation of the world. It is making the main contribution to the shift in the international balance of power toward socialism and all progressive forces. In this historic process the CPSU has become the most tempered and experienced Marxist-Leninist party.

All this objectively gives the Soviet Union its special world political strength. Ever since its inception it has honorably discharged its responsibility, fulfilled its obligations in the revolutionary world process to an extent unmatched by any other socialist country. That also distinguishes the position of the CPSU among the communist and workers parties.

At the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany of May 1976, proletarian internationalism and the proletarian solidarity based on and radiating from it, assumed a dominant position. The party congress was able

to assert that our irrevocable fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community has further strengthened, that we are loyal to proletarian internationalism and therefore practice solidarity with all anti-imperialist forces struggling everywhere in the world for national independence, democracy and social progress.⁵ The party congress reaffirmed the consistent pursuit of this policy of our party by adopting definite and detailed targets.

In consolidating our indestructible fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, firmly anchoring our republic in the community of socialist states, our party is guided by the thought that the socialist community of nations represents an alliance of a completely novel type, an alliance of countries, which is based on similar socioeconomic and political foundations, on the same ideology--that is Marxism-Leninism--, on the community of communist targets and interests, on the international solidarity of the working people.⁶ In the light of its experiences and the tasks confronting us our party considers that the German Democratic Republic will be able to accomplish its historic tasks only in cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries.

It has been proven that the firm unity and union of the socialist community of nations, the community of socialist states based on proletarian internationalism, is strengthened particularly by its fraternal alliance with the strongest and most experienced socialist country, the Soviet Union. That is in the interest of every socialist country, of world socialism and, at the same time, all the forces struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. After all, the stronger real socialism, the greater its power of attraction and its influence; the more effective the solidarity emanating from it, the easier it is to repel the forces of imperialism and aggression.

This strength and power of proletarian solidarity have been persuasively demonstrated for us especially in the course of the GDR's history.

Liberated by the heroic fight of the Soviet Union in World War II we felt from the first day--after this tremendous act of proletarian solidarity--the fraternal solidarity of the Soviet Union in all areas of our development, not least in its assumption of the defense of the GDR's working people and their socialist construction against imperialist attempts at blackmail and interference. We have experienced and contributed proletarian solidarity to this day in the daily happenings of socialist construction in cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist fraternal countries.

The collapse of the imperialist blockade of the GDR again is "a success for world socialism, the result also of the great international support given our state of workers and farmers."⁷

The policy of the GDR is profoundly permeated by proletarian internationalism and proletarian solidarity. In its entire practical and doctrinal actions

the SED starts from the standpoint that it is an indivisible element of the communist world movement, and the GDR an equally indivisible element of the socialist community of nations.

The SED regards the origin and development of the GDR in close connection with the great revolutionary world process of our era and endeavors for its part to contribute to this process. At the ninth congress of our party, therefore, Erich Honecker described the achievement of the working people in the GDR, led by the SED, "historic...because it benefits the people in our country and is at the same time a contribution to the international cause of peace and socialism."⁸

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism our party is intimately linked in proletarian solidarity with the fraternal parties the world over, fosters and organizes comprehensive solidarity with all forces of peace, democracy and social progress. In our republic, for example, the general support for the heroic Vietnamese people virtually assumed the nature of a comprehensive popular movement. It involved the minds and hearts of our people. Our party considers proletarian solidarity a constant necessity rather than relating it merely to "exceptional situations," that is particularly acute class war situations such as the aggression against Vietnam. That is why, after the victory of the Vietnamese people our party issued the watchword: "Even greater solidarity now!"

Just as do all other socialist fraternal countries, the GDR extends its comradely support to the Chilean people, the Arab peoples, the peoples of Africa and all other peoples and forces in the struggle against imperialism and aggression, against fascism, racism and Apartheid. We feel at one with the nonaligned countries, support--by the expansion and consolidation of political and economic relations--the efforts for economic independence of the countries which have already freed themselves and those still fighting to do so, and also help them accomplish the political, economic and social tasks confronting them. Fighters against imperialism, for national liberation, for peace and social progress may always rely on the unreserved solidarity of the GDR. Anti-imperialist solidarity and active support for the progressive and revolutionary forces in the world in the spirit of proletarian internationalism is one of the priority foreign affairs goals of the SED as resolved upon by the ninth party congress.

Our people are proud of the fact that Luis Corvalan wrote to Erich Honecker in appreciation of the GDR's solidarity with the Chilean people, the Chilean communists and the other parties and movements of the Unidad Popular, describing the GDR's efforts as the "consistent line of the application of the Marxist-Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism."¹⁰

Just as the other communist and workers parties the SED is encouraged and inspired in its fight for the further consolidation of proletarian solidarity by the outstanding historic victories of proletarian internationalism, of proletarian solidarity. Precisely in this 60th year of the Great October

this is evidenced by the initiation of the worldwide drift to socialism and communism, the successes and victories of the Soviet Union and all countries of real socialism; its growing influence on world events; the victory of Lenin's nationalities policy in the Soviet Union, the community of peoples (developed by proletarian solidarity into a historic new community, the Soviet people); the fraternal alliance of the states of the socialist community which is manifested daily in cooperation in all fields, in the realization of socialist economic integration, the coordination of foreign policies, the stronger emergence of our common features, the inevitable process of adjustment of states and peoples; triumphs of proletarian solidarity such as are reflected in the fight and victory of Vietnam and the other peoples of Indochina. Lately the liberation of Comrade Corvalan as a result of the powerful solidarity movement on all Continents became the symbol of the strength and vitality of proletarian solidarity.

The power and influence of the revitalizing ideals of proletarian internationalism and proletarian solidarity are also mirrored in its radiation to nonproletarian forces, in the victorious advance of the ideals of the equality of nations as well as in the friendship among peoples, the crisis of the imperialist ideology of racism and Apartheid, in the growing cohesion and strengthened solidarity of the fighters for peace, democracy and social progress.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx/F. Engels, "Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei" [Communist Manifesto], Werke, Vol 4, Berlin 1959, p 373.
2. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin 15/16 January 1977.
3. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 7 July 1976.
4. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 27 December 1976.
5. See "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED. Berichterstatter: Genosse Erich Honecker" [SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress. Reporter: Comrade Erich Honecker, Berlin 1976, pp 9 ff.
6. See "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [SED Program], Berlin 1976, pp 5 f.
7. Central Committee Report, as before, p 10.
8. Ibid, p 8.
9. Ibid, p 27.
10. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 7 January 1977.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JOINT PROJECT FOR COMPARATIVE RESEARCH ON REVOLUTION STARTED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 22 No 4, Apr 77 signed to press 24 Feb 77 pp 134-135

[Report by Hans Bach: "Comparative Research on Revolution--A Current Matter of Concern"]

[Text] On 15 December 1976 the Interdisciplinary Center for Comparative Research on Revolution was founded in the senate hall of Leipzig's Karl Marx University. Present were scientists from the USSR, the People's Republic of Poland, the CSSR, the Hungarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania, representatives of the department for science at the SED Central Committee, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Ministry for University and Technical School Matters, the GDR Academy of Sciences, the other universities of our country, the Academy for Social Sciences and the Institute for Marxism-Leninism at the SED Central Committee, the Karl Marx Advanced Party School, the general secretaries of the solidarity committees of the People's Republic of Poland and the CSSR, members of the presidium of the USSR Solidarity Committee, the deputy chairman of the GDR Solidarity Committee, and delegates from various other organizations and institutions.

Prof Dr Lothar Rathmann, rector of the Karl Marx University, addressed the meeting and described the functions of the newly established center. Recognizing that the doctrine of revolution represents the basic element of Marxism-Leninism, that the revolutions proceeding in the various parts of the globe in the current stage of the worldwide struggle between the two world systems are providing a plenitude of important new doctrinal and practical findings, that these revolutions require careful study and an analytical comparison with the revolutionary class battles of the past as well as with each other, that the question of the nature, character, the historic role and function of revolutions has become a key question of the ideological struggle against bourgeois, right socialist and ultra-left conceptions and theories, that it is imperative resolutely to repel--and do so from a scientific standpoint (especially because the modern "critics of socialism" introduce themselves in Marxist disguise)--the attacks launched in accordance with the global strategy of imperialism from the right as well as the ultra-left on the real socialism in the USSR, the GDR and other socialist

countries, and in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the Ninth SED Congress and in complete agreement with the line adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress, the following main targets were decided for the future work of the center:

First: Creative analysis of the basic theoretical problems of comparative research on revolution. That includes such questions as the change in the international balance of power in the current worldwide revolutionary process, the role of the socialist community of nations in the speed-up of the world historic transition from capitalism to socialism, the role of the young nation states in this revolutionary process and the ensuing international relations, the typology of the young nation state, the peaceful or otherwise transition from capitalism to socialism, the types of transition from one revolution to another (for example from the national-democratic to the socialist revolution), general historic inevitabilities as well as national and regional peculiarities in bourgeois, socialist and national-democratic revolutions, the question of the reversibility and irreversibility of revolutions, the role of the masses of the people, the question of dominance, the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces, the attitudes of various classes and strata in the course of revolutions, the typology of revolutions, the relationship between national and international concerns, and so on and so forth.

Second: The further development of the revolution-theoretical heritage of Marx, Engels and Lenin with a view to the basic questions of the theory of revolution.

Third: Purposeful encouragement of interdisciplinary cooperation at the level of the republic as a whole, taking into account the fact that the multifaceted general group of problems involved in the process of revolution can be dealt with only with the aid of the most comprehensive cooperation and the most detailed coordination of the various sciences involved.

Fourth: The constant further intensification and deepening of the already existing fruitful cooperation with the scientific institutions of the USSR and the other socialist countries as well as with progressive scientists in the nonsocialist world.

Fifth: Even closer links between research, instruction and communist education--that is theory--and social practice.

Four research groups will be set up within the framework of the center. They are to devote themselves to the comparative study of

Bourgeois revolutions, socialist revolutions, national democratic revolutions and the national liberation movement as well as

The revolutions and revolutionary movements in the imperialist countries.

Prof Dr Walter Markov was appointed honorary chairman of the center. In his address he reviewed the far from easy beginnings (in 1946) of research on revolution at Leipzig University and the subsequent development. He also affirmed his commitment to the future realization of the targets decided upon. Prof Dr Manfred Kossok was appointed chairman of the center. He is an internationally acknowledged expert in the field of comparative research on revolution.

The newly established body will be aided in its future operation by the long-standing tradition established by Walter Markov--the GDR doyen of comparative research on revolution. This tradition was further developed especially in the regular colloquiums on the comparative history of revolution, held at Karl Marx University and attended by international personalities. Now new criteria have been established and the necessary conditions created for further progress in this important area of scientific theory and social practice.

11698
CSO: 2300

BULGARIA

UKASE AMENDING THE MILITARY SERVICE LAW

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 25 Mar 77 p 1

[State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic Ukase Number 418 Amending the Law on Universal Military Service in the Bulgarian People's Republic]

[Text] In accordance with Article 94, point 2, of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic promulgates the following

Ukase Number 418

Amending the Law on Universal Military Service
in the Bulgarian People's Republic

(Published in IZV., number 13, 1958; amended and supplemented, number 52, 1959; number 58, 1959; number 51, 1961; number 105, 1962; DV, number 103, 1964; number 25, 1966; number 63, 1970; number 65, 1972; number 18, 1973; number 25, 1974; number 53, 1974; and number 27, 1975)

#1. Article 28 shall be amended to read as follows:

"All young people, Bulgarian citizens, who complete 17 years of age during the year shall be registered in the draft law of the respective people's council in their place of residence. The registration of the young people in the draft record shall take place from 1 January to 30 March. The data shall be taken from the civic status records and, respectively, the individual registration file in the presence of the young person or his parent or close relative.

"The young people registered in the draft record of the people's council shall be known as conscripts."

#2. Paragraph 1 of Article 29 shall be amended to read as follows:

"The executive committees of people's councils shall organize the initial medical examination of the young people registered in the draft record and draw up their health draft cards. The health draft cards indicating the results of the examination shall be submitted to the military districts before the end of May."

#3. Article 31 shall be amended to read as follows:

"The draft commissions shall meet every year in July and August. The commissions' membership and its duration shall be determined by the General Staff. Military and civilian physicians-specialists as stipulated by the authorities of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Public Health shall be recruited to assist the commissions.

"The conscripts listed by the draft commissions for regular military service shall be known as recruits."

#4. Article 32 shall be amended to read as follows:

"The draft commission shall carry out the following assignments:

"a. Provide for the medical certification of the conscripts in accordance with the table of diseases;

"b. Determine the type of service or military unit to summon the conscripts for regular military service;

"c. Grant a deferment for reason of illness;

"d. Free from military service because of physical shortcomings or illness."

#5. In Article 33 the words "or pre-conscript" shall be deleted.

#6. In Article 35, in both paragraphs, the words "pre-conscripts and" shall be deleted.

#7. Article 38 shall be deleted.

#8. In Article 125 the words "pre-conscript or conscript" shall be replaced by the word "conscript."

The implementation of the present ukase is assigned to the Minister of National Defense.

Issued in Sofia on 24 March 1977 and sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: T. Zhivkov

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic:
N. Manolov

5003

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

ACCOUNTABILITY REPORT ON MEDICAL CARE IN BULGARIA

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 5 Mar 77 pp 1-2

[Outline of the accountability report presented by Professor Dr. Zdravka Kemileva, BCP Central Committee candidate member and chairman of the PSZR [Health Workers Trade Union] Central Committee]

[Text] Dear Comrade delegates and guests:

Five years have passed since the holding of the eighth Health Workers Trade Union congress. Within that period we were witnesses of dynamic international events. During that time the correctness and vitality of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different socioeconomic systems were confirmed yet once again.

During that period we participated in the uninterrupted economic, social, and cultural upsurge of our people. The great successes achieved in economic and cultural construction are the greatest and most visible confirmation of the vitality and farsightedness of the April policy which has been implemented by the BCP for over two decades. Today's socialist Bulgaria has reached one of the highest rates and indicators of such economic development and is marching in the leading ranks of human progress.

The health policy of our country is an organically structural part of the party's Leninist social policy. The public health workers welcomed with profound satisfaction the assessment given in the BCP Central Committee Accountability Report to the 11th congress on the "unquestionable successes of our health care." This assessment contains the great gratitude and thanks to those who are dedicating themselves to maintaining the good health of our people.

The 11th BCP Congress and the July BCP Central Committee Plenum which followed it formulated the problem of upgrading the effectiveness and quality of all activities as the main problem of the Seventh Five-Year Plan for the socioeconomic development of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

In the period between the two congresses the PSZR Central Committee followed steadfastly a line of reconstruction of its activities in accordance with the overall concept on the place and role of trade unions in the stage of building a developed socialist society adopted at the 10th congress and February 1972 BCP Central Committee Plenum. In the course of the implementation of the decisions of the seventh congress of Bulgarian trade unions and the eighth congress of the PSZR positive changes took place in the all-round activities of the PSZR.

In the period between the Eighth and Ninth PSZR Congresses the efforts on the entire public health front, including those of the PSZR, were focused on the implementation of the main task set at the 10th party congress--making public health consistent with the contemporary stage of the socio-economic development of the country. The trade union authorities and organizations launched extensive and comprehensive organizational and educational work for the mobilization of the labor collectives for the implementation of the health protection tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan and of 1976. Substantial prerequisites for this included the formulation of a contemporary legislative base for public health activities with the adoption of the first socialist Law on Public Health and the Moral Code of the Physician in the Bulgarian People's Republic, as well as the elaboration of the Concept on the Long-Term Development of Public Health through 1990. A long-term course for the further development of prophylaxis as the dominant trend in public health was adopted, firmly directed toward the protection of the health of the healthy person, the struggle against mass diseases, the improvement of the living environment and the creation of hygienic working and living conditions. We happily note that on the eve of their congress the health workers are reporting the fulfillment of the state health protection plan for the Sixth Five-Year Plan and for 1976 for all indicators. Today we have grounds to assert that the Bulgarian People's Republic is in the leading ranks of the world's health progress. This is eloquently backed by statistical data: our average life span has reached 71.3 years; in 1975 infant mortality was reduced to 23.1 per 1,000 live-born children; in the first nine months of 1976 it dropped to 22.1 per 1,000; maternal and perinatal mortalities in Bulgaria are among the lowest in the world while morbidity caused by a number of contagious diseases is declining at a stable rate.

Using tried trade union methods, the trade union authorities and organizations made their contribution to these results.

Socialist competition assumed a determining role in the work of the PSZR Central Committee and the PSZR okrug committees and trade organizations in public health institutions. Serious attempts made to restructure the organization and management of the competition in accordance with party formulations and the comprehensive approach elaborated by Comrade T. Zhivkov yielded positive results. Today the socialist competition is developing as an inseparable part of health protection policy. Its content is most closely linked with the further development of prophylaxis, improvements in

quality and standards of medical services, accelerated utilization of medical achievements, and improvements in the health protection of workers, mothers, and children.

Provisional Method for the Creation of a System for the Organization and Management of the Socialist Competition in Health Establishments played an important role in the mobilization of the manpower in public health. The testing of this method in some health institutions and its mass utilization after that proved that it represents a single comprehensive system for the management of the socialist competition and for the solution of production, social, and educational problems.

The national public health initiatives aimed, above all, at improving the quality and standards of medical services, saving the time of the working people through the utilization of new organizational methods, and enhancing the skills, ethics, and professional responsibility of the medical workers were developed extensively. On this basis the effectiveness of the competition is being upgraded steadily. Its economic, social, and educational functions are being implemented more fully.

During that period the beginning was laid of a unified administrative-social system for the dissemination and utilization of leading experience and scientific achievements in health protection. It is based on the central school of the PSZR Central Committee and Ministry of Public Health. Particular attention is being paid to the active development of leading experience through experimentation and modeling.

Despite the optimistic balance of the organization and management of the socialist competition, a number of complex weaknesses remain in the field of health protection. Some public health units have small personnel whose every member carries out different activities. For this reason it is difficult to develop in such units a competitive situation within the collective. The trade union committees deal mainly with the basic public health unit (the rayon hospital) and do little to organize competition among individual rural health services in the rayon. Some okrug committees also prefer to work with the okrug health units (okrug hospitals, hygiene-epidemiological inspectorates, and others).

Formalism and routine have still not been eliminated in the management of the competition. Usually plans for internal competition systems are elaborated by a circle of managing trade union and administrative cadres. However, further work with smaller units is underestimated. The nature, tasks, indicators, and criteria are not sufficiently studied by trade union groups and at production conferences. The role of the immediate administrative superior is underestimated. Organizational and explanatory work does not reach every member of the collective and no struggle is being waged to insure his active involvement in the competition.

Formalism is created also by the use or the decreeing of some as yet unstudied methods such as, for example, individual pledges and creative plans.

The system for the study and rapid utilization of leading experience created organizational prerequisites for shortening the study-application process. An analysis of the fact, however, indicates that this process is encountering a number of difficulties most of which are subjective--the low interest displayed by trade union and administrative authorities, unfamiliarity with the nature of the problem, unsurmounted traditions and inertia, tendency to engage in petty criticism, and others.

Aware of the new scales of the tasks facing socialist public health in the Seventh Five-Year Plan, we must enhance the significance and role of the competition and make it fully consistent with the requirements of the July plenum and the 1977 decree of the BCP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, and Komsomol Central Committee on the development of the nationwide socialist competition for higher effectiveness and high quality and for the ahead-of-schedule implementation of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. To this effect the competition must be developed as a continuing process whose nature and content must be the struggle for the implementation and overimplementation of the public health tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan and for high medical and socio-economic effectiveness and fuller satisfaction of the population with the organization, quality, and standards of medical services. The main competition criterion must be the stipulation of the July plenum: "...lowering absenteeism caused by illness, achieving a higher level of population ability to work, and extending the age limit for full participation in the production process."

On the basis of such criteria the objectives, content, and indicators of socialist competition in public health must be directed toward the development of prophylaxis, the struggle for reducing mass diseases, the protection and optimizing of the living and working environment, systematic outpatient treatment of the population, and improvements in the quality of medical services. The basic task in this respect is to provide differentiated services to the most important groups: mothers, the growing generation, the working class, and the active segment of the population.

The organization and management of the socialist competition in the field of public health should continue to be improved on the basis of the Leninist organizational principles of publicity, comparability of results, and possibility for the practical duplication of leading experience. On the basis of the achieved successes, and thanks to the application of the scientific and comprehensive method in the field of public health we must intensify the state-social principle in the management of the socialist competition. This means the more active inclusion in this process of administrative managements. Particular attention should be paid to the direct

managers of the smallest labor units. The Ministry of Public Health should increase its exactingness and control toward administrative cadres and, in assessing their work, take into consideration their efforts for the development of the socialist competition.

Following the transfer of the trade union members from the Social Care System to the Health Workers Trade Union, we must systematically study experience and control and improve socialist competition in the production enterprises within this sector.

The trade union authorities and organizations must become the boosters of the entire organizational work in their continuing competition process with its three recurring completed cycles: preparatory, competitive, and result accountability.

The rich Soviet experience indicates that upgrading professional training must be paralleled with the overall organization of the competition. This process must be linked even more closely with the skills, ability, and dexterity of the public health workers. That is why, in the course of the competition, the trade union and administrative authorities must help to refine the technology of each separate labor process and the organization of each job in order to obtain the greatest possible effectiveness and utilize available reserves. The scientific organization of the competition faces the trade union authorities at all levels with the task of insuring the dynamic training and competence of the organizers in matters related to the socialist competition.

Another basic task which must remain in the center of attention of all trade union authorities and organizations includes the forms or participation of public health workers in the socialist competition and in the scientific administration of health protection initiatives and leading experience. Counterplanning assumes basic significance in this respect as an effective method for the mass participation of health workers in the administration of public health affairs in our country. On this matter the PSZR Central Committee, together with the Ministry of Public Health, studying present experience, should clarify the nature and basic problems of this effective method.

It is also necessary to create a more efficient organizational mechanism for the management of leading experience and the dissemination of national initiatives.

The experience of the socialist countries and, particularly, of Soviet public health workers assumes great importance in the competition. In this respect the emphasis must be on the experience of the permanent courses, and collectives with a communist attitude toward labor, and the elements of the Lvov quality and effectiveness control system.

The trade union authorities and organizations play the biggest role in the implementation of the big complex of tasks related to the management and guidance of the socialist competition in the public health system. They must make every public health worker aware of the new competition ideas and participate on a daily basis in the implementation of production, social, and educational tasks.

These are the basic problems to which we must direct the attention of trade union authorities and organizations so that they may contribute factually and specifically to the implementation of the following slogan: "In public health the Seventh Five-Year Plan shall be a five-year plan of high effectiveness and high quality."

The activities of the trade union and its authorities in protecting the work and providing consumer services to public health workers in the past period were consistent with the December program of the BCP and the Labor Safety National Program. As a result of such activities we could point a number of positive changes which were made in the labor conditions of public health workers. Medical labor is characterized by intensive nervous stress, physical efforts, the overstress of some analytical workers, emotional influences, and chemical, physical, microbe, and other irritants. Also linked with these labor factors is the fact that in terms of the disease severity indicator the public health workers are in a leading position compared with the other sectors in our country. A study of the reasons shows that some trade union and administrative authorities underestimate this aspect of the problem. Frequently some administrative authorities with the permission of trade union authorities, use some of the funds allocated for labor safety for the reconstruction and improvement of material facilities.

Today it is particularly important and imperative for an ever-larger number of trade union organizations in public health establishments to become the active spokesmen for and protectors of the interests of public health workers. This is demanded by the fact that improvements in working and living conditions have always been, and remain, a factor for upgrading the productivity, effectiveness, and quality of the work of public health workers. Major efforts must be made to resolve a number of problems concerning the system of work and leisure time under the conditions of a five-day work week, and working in special clothing, medical services for public health workers, and others.

In accordance with the requirements of the February 1974 BCP Central Committee Plenum, the problems of the ideological education and the molding of a new type of health worker possessing a high socialist conscientiousness, moral virtues, and professional responsibility were some of the basic problems in the activities of trade union authorities and organizations. The trade union organizations directed their efforts toward linking more closely ideological-educational and mass cultural work with the tasks facing the socialist public health system in accordance with the specific problems stemming from the nature of the medical profession and work and, above all, the indivisible unity between the labor and the moral and ethical education of public health workers.

Despite the great difficulty of drawing a precise balance of achievements in this field, it could be judged by indirect indicators: the thousands of thanks, written or verbal, directed personally to the respective institutions or the press; the eyes of thousands of patients and their relatives, full of gratitude and love; and the selflessness and heroism which abound in the daily work of the health workers.

Unfortunately, it is still possible to counter this general trend with alarming cases of indifferent, rude, and bureaucratic attitude, avoidance of difficult work sectors, and superficial and careless attitude toward the fate of a sick citizen. The reasons for such manifestations may be solved in the insufficiently systematic struggle against negative actions and objective and subjective prerequisites for their existence on the part of trade union and administrative organizations, the insufficient use of the social commissions for morals, ethics, and professional responsibility; and the unsatisfactory and unsystematic work with young medical cadres to promote their professional and moral enhancement and involvement in socio-political life.

Practical steps must be taken, boldly, and responsibly, on the basis of the highly humane and noble positions of our profession in order to eliminate such phenomena of "petty truth" and eliminate such reasons and surmount the weaknesses, in the spirit of the July plenum. We must develop intolerance toward those who speak approvingly of the July plenum yet, in practice, do not decisively undertake to eliminate shortcomings; those who make themselves deaf, who have lost a feeling of moderation, who neither see nor hear what is happening around them; we must be intolerant toward the carriers of negative phenomena in our daily life and defend the thousands of honest, talented, adamant, and modest public health workers whose accomplishments embellish the medical progression.

The labor functions of the public health collectives and their immediate health protection tasks should be the main object and targets of political, moral, and aesthetic training, professional skills, and impact of sociopsychological relations within them. The end result of such an influence is the enhancement of the socialist awareness of public health workers in the struggle for high medical-social effectiveness and quality of medical work.

On the basis of the socialist way of life our efforts must be directed toward the promotion of the unity between thinking and behavior based on the principles and requirements of the socialist society, and the norms of the Moral Code of the Physician in the Bulgarian People's Republic. This way we could fulfill the requirements of the 11th BCP Congress of "...shaping strong and active collectives which, along with good production indicators, display healthy reciprocal relations, ideological and moral firmness, comradeship, mutual aid, justice, fulfillment of obligations to society, and respect for the rights, dignity, and honor of man."

Comrades:

The PSZR came to its ninth congress with increased prestige, a favorable balance, and clear prospects for future activities. Fulfilling its role as the most widespread social organization of public health workers, the trade union shall continue to focus its efforts on the development of public health and the health prosperity of the Bulgarian people.

The main task now is, united and rallied around the BCP and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, to respond to the appeal of the BCP Central Committee to the party members, the working people, and the Bulgarian people with inspired labor for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the Seventh Five-Year Plan and the 1977 plan.

The Ninth PSZR Congress is being held during the anniversary year of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The public health workers will welcome this great anniversary full of loyalty toward the ideas of the October Revolution and readiness to march shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Soviet people to the full victory of communism.

Unquestionably, the work of the Ninth PSZR Congress will be another confirmation of the fact that the public health workers, with the ideological conviction and highly humane power of their profession, learning from the rich experience of the Soviet public health system, will follow the April line of our party and its Dimitrov Central Committee, and implement the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress.

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BULGARIA

MINISTER OUTLINES STATE, FUTURE TASKS IN MEDICAL CARE

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 5 Mar 77 pp 1-2, 3

[Speech by Dr. Angel Todorov, BCP Central Committee member, minister of public health]

[Text] Comrade delegates:

Six years have passed since the 10th BCP Congress faced us, public health workers, with the exceptionally responsible task of making health protection consistent with the stage entered by our country--the building of a developed socialist society. Now the highest forum of the Health Workers Trade Union--its congress--has gathered to review the way we worked since then in order to fulfill the party's order, and to earmark the tremendous tasks facing us.

The present health workers congress is being held after the 11th BCP Congress and the July BCP Central Committee Plenum. It is being held under exceptionally favorable political and labor circumstances in which the Leninist revolutionary spirit, the Leninist creative approach, the broad communist scale and purposefulness dominate all realms of party and state activities and the awareness and actions of millions of builders of a developed socialist society.

I was given the pleasurable assignment of greeting you on behalf of the party's Central Committee and the leadership of the Ministry of Public Health and, through you, to express their most hearty gratitude to all public health collectives and trade union activists and leading workers for their valorous accomplishments and wish them new and even greater successes in the Seventh Five-Year Plan. I believe that I shall express your unanimous view by emphasizing that our congress is taking place in a creative and efficient atmosphere, in circumstances marked by unity, solidarity, and profound and self-critical consideration of the problems facing our public health.

The congress impressively expresses the boundless loyalty of the health workers to the policy of the BCP, its Leninist Central Committee and its First Secretary Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the great friend of the Bulgarian

public health workers, and the perspicacious strategist of party and state policy for the real health prosperity of our talented people and our socialist nation.

Looking back, we cannot fail to see that the period under consideration was one of creative and aggressive enlivenment along the entire public health front. We cannot fail to see that the Ministry of Public Health and the Health Workers Trade Union mobilized the 170,000 strong army of public health workers to implement the plans of the 10th party congress in the field of public health. A noble competition is spreading throughout all collectives. As a result of the creative activeness of the public health workers a number of new initiatives were born. We recall with great pleasure the "Appeal of the Eight Public Health Institutions in Sofia," the "Appeal of the Seven Stomatological Polyclinics," the "Appeal of the Five Pharmacies," the movement for earning the title of "Collective with High Professional Skills, Ethics, and Morality," and many others. These were appeals which involved the participation of thousands of public health workers, appeals which led public health forward.

The Central Committee report reflects this entire comprehensive activity. The Ministry of Public Health entirely shares the assessment made in the report that in the Sixth Five-Year Plan our public health gained "many positive and factual successes and entered the Seventh Five-Year Plan in a new and higher development stage." We also note with satisfaction and gratitude the considerable factual contribution made by the trade union and its authorities and of the many thousands of public health workers to such successes.

As was emphasized by many of the speakers the Sixth Five-Year Plan was an exceptionally dynamic and fruitful period in the development of our socialist public health.

For the first time a scientific concept was elaborated to clarify and earmark the prospects for the development of health protection over a longer period of time on the basis of the high requirements of the developed socialist society. This important document was concretized in long-term target programs covering the basic directions in public health which became a manual for action. A general plan for the territorial location of the public health network was drawn up in accordance with the occurring processes in the fields of consolidation and placement of industry and changes in settlement agglomerations.

During the Sixth Five-Year Plan the supreme authority of the people's regime passed the first socialist Law on Public Health which regulates the health protection activities on a broad governmental and social basis and which opened widely the door to converting health protection into an overall social system. The Moral Code of the Physician of the Bulgarian People's Republic is another legal document of tremendous significance.

In the period under consideration the abolishment of private medical practice was a major social gain in our public health. This also represented one of the important stipulations of the eighth congress of the Health Workers Trade Union. Such a revolutionary measure not only did not result in major upheavals, as was predicted by some, but had an exceptionally favorable impact on the overall activities aimed at improving and expanding population health services.

Along with the elaboration of all these normative documents and decisions based on them, tremendous work was done during the Sixth Five-Year Plan for the ever fuller satisfaction of the health requirements of the population--the purpose and supreme objective of our profession, of our system. As a result of this today qualitative changes of particular importance to the future have been made along all basic public health directions. What gains could be considered as the most essential and unquestionable?

Mass social prophylaxis based on a programed and comprehensive influencing exerted on the negative aspects of the environment, leading to improvements in its parameters, may be considered as considerably stronger. Unquestionable success has been achieved in strengthening the cadre and material foundations of the Bulgarian public health system. Positions held by physicians rose by 22.2 percent; by stomatologists, by 26.5 percent; and for secondary medical cadres, by 30.3 percent. The number of beds rose by almost 16 percent in hospitals, 12 percent in sanatoriums, and 10 percent in permanent nurseries and mother and child homes--an increase of over 100 percent. A number of new modern units were set up in public health establishments: departments for anesthesiology, reanimation, and intensive care, departments for mass preventive examinations, departments for further and extensive care, departments for pathological pregnancy, offices for pre-physician's consultation, mobile stomatological offices, and others.

All of you know of and have participated yourselves in the tremendous efforts aimed at strengthening outpatient-polyclinical services, decisively consolidating the sectors and their saturation with cadres, the establishment of pre-physician's offices, upgrading the role of narrow specialists, regulating the reception of patients, the organization of branch polyclinics for the rural population, and many others. This set of measures upgraded the quality, standards, and efficiency of services which were brought closer to the population. We could say that medical requirements are being satisfied considerably better. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan the number outpatient visits to physicians rose from about 42 to nearly 58 million; the number of visits to dental offices rose from 1.1 million to over 1.5 million.

We are pleased by the fact that the number of examinations by sector physicians rose from about 5.9 million to over 11 million, while the number of house calls rose from about 1.3 million to over 2.4 million. During the hours allocated for free voluntary examinations, the number rose from slightly over one million visits in 1972 to 2,575,000 in 1975.

The entire first and emergency aid system was reorganized, staffed with additional personnel and equipped with modern facilities, as a result of which its effectiveness rose considerably. There were about 480,000 calls in 1970; in 1975 their number was in excess of 1,666,000.

The latest achievements in medicine and technical progress are being used ever-more extensively in public health. The number of approved and applied inventions and rationalizations, new diagnosis and care methods, and technical facilities and apparatus has increased tangibly. This enabled us to raise the scientific and methodical public health standards.

Considerable positive changes have taken place in medical science and training on the basis of the Medical Academy which was set up in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, in services to mothers and children, dental aid, the organization and management of public health, and a number of other sectors of our activities.

From the rostrum of our congress we could proclaim with a feeling of legitimate pride that the contemporary highly developed socialist public health system is the greatest achievement in the age-old struggle for social and health progress waged by Bulgarian society. Under the leadership of the BCP and on the basis of the steady growth of the material and cultural prosperity of the toiling people, the Bulgarian People's Republic has achieved considerable progress in basic health indicators; it is developing in the leading ranks of the world's health progress.

Thus, for example, infant mortality declined from 27.3 per 1,000 live-born in 1970 to 23.1 in 1975. Natal mortality in Bulgaria is among the lowest in the world--1.8 per 10,000 women in childbirth. We are in one of the most leading positions among the European countries in the low figure of perinatal mortality. The overall mortality rate has been stabilized or declined in the age groups not over 69. In 1973/74 average longevity reached 71.3 years. A declining morbidity trend exists for a number of contagious diseases. In the Sixth Five-Year Plan their lethal outcome was reduced by one-third. The number of food poisonings declined by over two-thirds. Tuberculosis morbidity declined from 379 to 259 and morbidity in newly discovered illnesses declined from 79 to 49 per 100,000 population. Permanent disability was lowered almost 50 percent (1.8 times). The trends in the people's physical development and efficiency are becoming evermore favorable.

All of our achievements and public health measures are being implemented under the conditions of ever-closer cooperation and rapprochement with the public health service of the fraternal Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries. We can state that within this period the all-round ties, cooperation, and rapprochement between Bulgarian and Soviet socialist public health intensified and developed, and that this fraternal and selfless cooperation is developing as a high governmental imperative, as a

basic law. We are active in the international arena evermore closely for the positive solution of basic medical, scientific and technical, and health problems which affect our nations and all mankind. In solid unity with the Ministry of Public Health of the Soviet Union we are working for the implementation of the Leninist health policy of our communist parties. We are countering the anti-communists, the obscurantists, and the warmongers and enemies of the peoples of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and the other fraternal socialist countries with the historical gains of existing socialism, the humanism of the new world, and the profound socialist and communist essence of the health protection of the members of the world socialist comity.

It is the high patriotic and international duty of our congress to express the impressive tremendous enthusiasm of the Bulgarian public health workers with which they will welcome the main event of the 20th century--the historical victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Bulgarian medical public, famous for its political and ideological maturity, will celebrate the great anniversary of the century with a number of political and scientific initiatives, creative conferences, discussions, and other measures dedicated to the study of the tremendous experience achieved by the Soviet health protection system.

We must act as consistent internationalists. We must continually strengthen and enhance the international prestige of the Bulgarian socialist public health. It is thus, I believe, that we acted in the course of the period we are now considering and assessing. The creation of a Permanent Public Health CEMA Commission, for which our country was one of the main initiators, is another major gain. Thus health cooperation rises to a qualitatively new stage which opens the way to even more active and effective interaction in the field of public health among the members of the socialist comity. This path was clearly earmarked in the "Basic Directions and Prospects for the Development of Socialist Public Health," elaborated and adopted by the ministers of public health of the socialist countries.

The new processes in Bulgarian public health, our achievements, and the proper approach and orientation of our public health in resolving the basic health problems of the people are drawing to an ever-greater extent the attention of the world's medical public. All of you know the great interest which the World Health Organization is showing in our public health. As a result of this its director general Dr. (Maler) visited our country and signed with the ministry a General Cooperation Memorandum unprecedented in the history of the World Health Organization. On the basis of this document, for the second year running, we are sponsoring international courses on a number of important problems, while the Gabrovo model as the most modern form of socialist health services, has become available to many countries which will learn from it.

Quite recently our country was visited also by the director of the African Regional Bureau of the WHO. He visited a number of scientific institutes and health establishments and studied the Gabrovo Okrug model. He rated highly socialist public health in our system and displayed a great deal of interest in the modern ways and means of health services applied in our country. He expressed the desire that closer ties be established between Bulgaria and the countries on the African continent in the field of public health.

Comrades:

All of these achievements are the result and vivid manifestation of the Leninist nature of the party's April line; they are a manifestation of the humanism of our system and a structural part of the socialist way of life. They are, above all, the expression of the systematic health policy pursued by our party and the constant aid it gives all of us, workers on the public health front. They are the result of the correctly implemented line of creative and aggressive implementation of the Leninist principles of socialist health protection. They are the result of the tremendous organizational activities of the Ministry of Public Health and its organs, and the Central Committee of the Health Workers Trade Union.

The thousands of medical workers in all parts of the homeland are the specific creators and bearers of these achievements. In the period under consideration nine health workers were made heroes of socialist labor; nine were made people's physicians; 39 became Deserving Physicians; 1,765 were awarded high state distinctions, and 2,758 were awarded the honor badge "Excellent Worker of the Ministry of Public Health" in deserved recognition for their selfless work for the health of the people.

Here, at this highest trade union forum, we cannot fail to name the best leading collectives in the battle for the people's health in the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

We cannot fail to mention the public health workers in Ruse Okrug who earned with their selfless toil the labor glory banner of the Ministry of Public Health and the PSZR [Health Workers Trade Union] Central Committee, twice as okrug-comprehensive public health champion, four times in a row as champions in care-preventive activities, once as the champion in hygiene-epidemiological activities, and once as champion in stomatological aid.

We cannot fail to render their due to the public health collective of Plovdiv Okrug--the comprehensive champion in 1973; to Gabrovo Okrug--the comprehensive champion in 1974; to Varna and Stara Zagora okrugs--champions in hygiene-epidemiological activities in different years, and to the pharmacy collectives of Pazardzhik, Turgovishte, Shumen, and Vratsa okrugs who were awarded the labor glory banner as champions in medicinal supplies, and the Velingrad collective which, for years on end, has been the champion in sanatorium-resort work;

Nor can we fail to stress the contribution of the scientific collectives of the Medical Faculty in Plovdiv and the Institute of Contagious and Parasitical Diseases--bearer of the labor glory banner--as the comprehensive champions of the Medical Academy.

Allow me to express most warm thanks and gratitude to the following collectives of innovators in the past five years:

Gabrovo--for their tremendous efforts to open the difficult path to the protection of the health of mature socialism;

The public health collectives in Plovdiv and Pazardzhik, for their devotion and persistence in marching in the leading ranks;

To the people of Botevgrad who developed a new system for regulating patient admission;

To the public health collectives of Varna, Khaskovo, Yambol, Kyustendil, Kremikovtsi, Sofia polyclinic number 24, and many others who initiated and implemented a number of new progressive ways and means for providing public health services.

We express our greatest gratitude to all leading workers and innovators, to all those who marched in the leading ranks, and who fought with their minds and hearts on the front of our socialist public health with high socialist conscientiousness. We owe them a great deal. We wish them to continue to march forward just as boldly, to accelerate the pace, and to continue to bear highly the banner of our renovating socialist public health.

Comrade delegates:

Making this general review of the development of public health we realize that we are living in a stage in which major and difficult problems are being resolved, a time entirely imbued by the innovational Leninist spirit of the July BCP Central Committee Plenum. We are public health workers and we are not allowed to suffer from illusions, to be carriers of the bacillus of complacency and self-satisfaction. We have achieved successes under the guidance of the party and the government. They are our capital which must be invested in the future, in the further concerns, struggle, and efforts for new considerable gains and for high quality and high effectiveness in our entire work, and in the further blossoming of the health prosperity of the people.

Our public health system includes a number of difficult and unresolved problems which were extensively discussed here and whose successful solution will demand new efforts, high consciousness, clarity of purpose and adamant work in all directions. The imperative order now is, enriched with the experience and accomplishments gained in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, to consider yet once again the tasks facing the entire public health front following the 11th party congress and the July plenum.

Above all, we must provide an accurate and sober assessment of accomplishments. We claim with full justification that our achievements are factual and that they are the result of a great deal of efforts. Most of these efforts, however, went to surmount a certain inertia in public health and to lead it out of a deep rut and enable it to take confidently the path of uninterrupted improvements. This could be considered accomplished. However, as to the overall implementation of the public health system in accordance with the great requirements of our development stage, we could state that we have noticed merely a hopeful beginning. It is very important to understand precisely this, and to be known by all of us, if we want to have a clear idea of the scale and size of the problems to be resolved, and of the long path which we must cover illuminated by the July decisions.

Those were precisely the positions which guided us in interpreting aggressively and sharply, over a number of months, the decisions of the July plenum and the tasks facing the public health system. Both in the center and in the okrugs, in all collectives, we held frank and critical talks, named things as they were, and analyzed everything. The result was an overall critical review of our activities from top to bottom, conducted on a high critical level and communist frankness. This enabled us to see a number of obstacles, subjective mainly, which hinder our work and lower its quality and effectiveness.

After this tremendous amount of work carried out among the public health collectives, on the basis of the suggestions, views, and questions formulated by the aktivs in the okrugs, the ministry leadership amended and supplemented its plans and passed its special Decision Number 18 or, as we have reasons to describe it, its July decision. On the basis of this decision the public health efforts are directed toward important tasks related to the following: first, the most rational utilization of material and technical resources (apparatus, technical equipment, medicines), investments, and funds; second, the effective utilization of public health cadres; third, the even more purposeful orientation of public health work toward the fulfillment of the general task of improving the medical-social effectiveness of public health and of the most important health and demographic indicators.

The implementation of all these tasks is linked mainly with the mobilization of the subjective factor in order to overcome existing difficulties, resolve unresolved problems, and insure the qualitative and effective implementation of everything already clarified, programed, and ordered. This is the purpose of the review-investigation of public health establishments; this is also the purpose of all other tasks included in the decision.

This July decision contains a great charge for further change and upsurge in public health activities and for upgrading their effectiveness and quality. We must mention, however, that some of the problems included in the decision and formulated at the July conferences are still not being

resolved with adequate speed and completeness. It should be assumed that the patience which both we and the public are displaying has its limits. We find incomprehensible the patience with which individual health establishments tolerate indifference and lowered professional standards. This is a question of the lack of interest which, even though occasional, some public health leaders and cadres display in the rational utilization of the facilities available to our public health network in the struggle against diseases. Could we say that everything possible has been done in such matters? Have we attacked quite effectively shortcomings? Are we fighting against the petty truth in our midst to a sufficient extent? Are we properly fighting for high labor discipline? Unfortunately, this is not being done everywhere and in all matters.

No one has the right to think that this is a congress and since it is a congress we should say only good words for good deeds. Not at all! It is precisely the congress, the highest forum of the Bulgarian public health workers, that must adopt a statesmanlike approach--sober and wise--as the party teaches us, toward our forthcoming tasks and high objectives and ideals which are practically infinite, as are the possibilities for insuring health, vitality, happiness, and life-giving forces.

We must leave the congress hall imbued with high political and civic awareness that in order to implement the decisions of the 11th party congress and July plenum as well as our July decision and July course, adamant and aggressive organizational activities, strict exactingness, and a strictly critical attitude are needed.

That is why we shall not retreat a single step until every public health worker and each collective clearly understand their obligations within the overall system and carry them out with high socialist conscientiousness;

We shall fight tirelessly the petty bourgeois and consumer spirits and the "petty truth" until they are totally rejected;

We shall not tolerate any violations whatever of medical morality and ethics, or manifestations of theft or poor management of medical equipment and other socialist property;

We shall not rest until a number of units have reorganized their work, until the pharmaceutical system begins to report not the value fulfillment of its plan but the level of satisfaction of the population for medicinal drugs, until all okrugs have developed uniform offices for economic and auxiliary activities, until uniform bases have been set up for the maintenance of medical equipment, and so on.

We shall not rest until the entire public health front has experienced the vivifying July wind.

The aggressive struggle for the full implementation of the July decisions in public health is now our first task, our task number one. This includes the most important conditions for accelerating our entire progress and for reaching higher levels in our public health work.

The second group of tasks deals with the need for the practical implementation of our programs. You know that we have developed long-term target comprehensive programs for all basic activities and directions based on the factual health needs and requirements of our dynamically developing society. Such programs must be reviewed now in two aspects:

On the one hand we must see the way they are being implemented and what we should do to insure their further accelerated implementation;

On the other hand, they must be supplemented and enriched on the basis of the newly appeared possibilities and problems. Such programs must be steadily improved and developed further, for life itself changes constantly.

The main efforts must be directed toward the implementation of the four programs approved last year by the Council of Ministers Bureau. These are major state documents which contain tremendous possibilities for upgrading the medical and social effectiveness of the public health system.

The first of these programs is related to the implementation of the BCP Central Committee instruction on gradually converting to full preventive population treatment. This will be our general line now and in the immediate future. Preventive treatment is the approach which will enable us to emerge on the positions of an aggressive prophylaxis, the position of active care for the protection and the strengthening of the health of those who are healthy and of detecting on time, treating, and restoring the health of those who are sick. Prophylactic treatment contains the basic and most important charge for upgrading the quality and standards of services and for making the public health system most fully consistent with the requirements of mature socialism.

The second program is related to the prevention of the diseases of our century--cardiovascular diseases. Its purpose is to attack the pathological conditions which hold a leading position as reasons for mortality and account for a large share of permanent and temporary disability. The implementation of this program will inevitably have a positive impact on the health of the people.

The other programs dealing with the preservation of the mental health and upgrading the health knowledge of the population and the program for rationalizing the people's nutrition, submitted for approval by the Council of Ministers, contain a tremendous prophylactic charge. Their extensive implementation could block a number of mass contemporary diseases which undermine the people's health and ability to work.

In recent years a great deal has been done to implement the program of outpatient-polyclinical services and factual results were achieved. In this field as well, however, new efforts must be made for the further improvement of emergency medical aid, the even more extensive use of the work of specialists, the broadening of rehabilitation efforts, and so on.

Important problems must be resolved also in connection with the inpatient assistance program. In this area we have still not achieved the most efficient specialization of available beds. We are seriously concerned by their insufficient utilization, polypragmasy, and others. A radical change is needed also in improving patient care. By this we bear in mind the overall care which includes professional treatment (diagnosis, treatment, rehabilitation) on a high modern level, high standards, psychosocial climate, and comfort, and so-called physical care--satisfaction of the immediate needs of the patient for services, food, and an aesthetic environment. This calls for a particular thorough discussion at administrative and trade union meetings with extreme frankness. We shall engage in preventive examinations, struggle against main pathological conditions and fight for the protection and improvement of working and living conditions. However, we must not forget for a single minute that the patient and his relatives need human warmth and highly skilled care. I am convinced that there is no health worker here who has not seen and felt the gravity of the problem for whose solution we must surmount, above all, subjective difficulties.

I shall not discuss all programs. You know that there are comprehensive programs covering the health of mothers and children, dental services, use of technical progress, struggle with contagious diseases, and so on. Let me merely stress that we will not feel the July spirit unless we understand the crying need to mobilize the respective units, specialists, departments, and resources for the aggressive implementation of all programs. Without this our public health cannot progress rapidly.

The third group of tasks is related to services to the individual age-professional population strata.

As you know, our public health service focuses its attention on the population in the active and creative age group and, particularly, on the ever fuller satisfaction of the health requirements of our working class. In the Sixth Five-Year Plan the entire health network with its entire potential was at the service of the workers. It was brought considerably closer to the workers with a number of organizational measures and skilled health services. This is of particular importance to the working people in smaller enterprises and individual shops who, until recently, were not properly covered by the public health service system. However, a number of unresolved problems and new tasks remain. Above all, we must follow closely the deep changes which are currently taking place in the structure of our industry, the concentration of workers, and the new production facilities; we must detect the risk factors and study newly arising health protection requirements. On the basis of such a thorough study we must formulate a policy for the further development of services to the working class.

At the same time we must never ignore the health problems in big national projects such as the Devnya Industrial Complex, the Kremikovtsi Metallurgical combine, the Maritsa Power Complex, the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, the Petroleum Refinery in Burgas, and others, for which we have special programs and duties. The health services in the okrugs as well as the subdivisions of the Medical Academy have tasks in this respect.

Preventive care plays a leading role in the organization of worker health protection. Here it has a special purpose based on the influence of labor processes. In this connection we must further develop methods for professional screening and their extensive utilization throughout the country.

All our efforts must pursue the final objective of protecting and strengthening the health of the workers and lowering sharply morbidity involving temporary or lasting disability. This will be a manifestation of our greatest participation in the direct reproduction of manpower and will increase the economic results of the health protection system.

Words are insufficient in pointing out that we are faced with tremendous work for the further development and assertion of the line of improving health services to the rural population, bringing them closer to those enjoyed by the urban population. In this field we must work even more adamantly for the creation of branch polyclinics and other forms of service. A conference on such matters will take place in Varna. This must become the starting point for new gains in our concern for the health of the rural workers in our country.

We must always keep track of the two extremes in the age structure of our population--the children and the elderly. Despite a progressive decline which is a direct result of improvements in health care, children mortality could be reduced even further. The struggle for each infant life must be waged even more adamantly, dedicatedly, and skillfully. We must never forget that we are investing in the health of the young generation the health of the adults, of the future builders of our society.

The ageing of the population raises the question of providing services to the elderly. This is a group which needs health care of a particular nature and volume, to be organized effectively. In this respect our concern must be focused on maintaining the ability to work and insuring the creative longevity of the adults.

The fourth group of tasks is related to the further improvement of hygiene-epidemiological work. This calls for a major review, for we cannot be satisfied with present results in some very important directions:

We cannot be satisfied with the current condition of disinfection work;

We believe that the workers in the field of school hygiene should consider with greater alarm and responsibility data on student pathology, study them, and find effective solutions for the protection and strengthening of the health of the growing generation;

We cannot be satisfied with the activeness of our hygiene-epidemiological service in implementing the national program for labor safety and hygiene, with the condition of the national systems for water, noise, and air control, or the unsatisfactory work in the building of model villages;

We cannot tolerate the current condition of the state sanitary control system.

Thus, you can see for yourselves, how many problems remain to be resolved in order to raise social prophylaxis to the level required by the present stage.

I would also like to discuss briefly some health protection management problems.

You may know that the ministry has already adopted a new structure. A new structure will be introduced in the okrug health departments as well. The new structures, however, are merely a prerequisite for better and more effective management work. Allow me immediately to emphasize that this prerequisite will not be implemented unless we convert to new ways and means of work, upgrade management discipline and exactingness, and insure strict examination and control of execution of assignments. At the same time, we must reassess some management activities as well.

Above all, we must decisively improve the state of information at all levels. We need information which must be, above all, prompt and of the type we require. Only under such circumstances would we be able to use it in making correct management decisions or amending decisions. Only thus would we be able to try to control public health processes. We are now dedicating efforts precisely for the creation of such an information system.

Also related to information is the question of the new criteria and yardsticks of our work. High effectiveness and quality in health protection means high population health level. That is why the main criterion in assessing one or another activity or one or another measure is the positive changes which occur in the health of the people. We must no longer assess and report the activities of health institutions only on the basis of their volume of work--examinations, studies, handling, interventions, and so on. They are important. However, this is a measurement of invested labor, materials, and funds. It does not represent a determination of results. The determination of results means the following: with a given volume of work what changes have occurred in morbidity, early treatment, rehabilitation, infant mortality, environmental parameters, and so on, i.e., in the basic demographic and health indicators.

Such are the criteria we must try to achieve in our studies of the activities of public health institutions, in formulating objectives, or resolving one or another problem. We cannot achieve high public health effectiveness unless achieved results are not the main criterion.

Let me mention here also the question of the obligations and functions of republic, okrug, and rayon specialists. We must decisively enhance the role of these authorities in public health management. Their responsibility must be raised. We must demand factual results from their work. It must be well understood that the republic, okrug, or rayon specialist in a given area or direction of public health bears the main responsibility for its development, interaction with other health protection sectors, and quality of services in a given area. The republic pediatrician is responsible for the quality of pediatric services throughout the country; the okrug pediatrician is responsible for the okrug while the rayon pediatrician, for the rayon. This applies also to the republic, okrug, and rayon surgeon, internist, obstetrician, hygienist, epidemiologist, and others. This is one of the basic means for upgrading further the quality of public health and its organization and standards. A real change must take place in the work with and by the specialists.

The question of the proper placement of cadres is of exceptional importance in management. As you know, our work is greatly hindered by cadre turnover. This phenomenon has an exceptionally adverse effect particularly in specialized medical aid. Our duty is to seek a solution to this situation through joint efforts and create maximal stability in cadre placement. In this respect the Health Workers Trade Union and our trade union organizations and groups could contribute a particularly great deal.

Our experience so far has confirmed the effectiveness of a number of ways and means of management we have used such as close interaction among the ministry and the okrug party and state authorities, extensive reliance on the public, and the utilization of the comprehensive approach and the program-target method, modeling, use of information systems, and others. We shall enrich and improve these ways and means in order to enhance continually the level of public health management and its effectiveness.

Comrades:

Public health needs constant creativity and improvements. Under mature socialist conditions this becomes a basic feature, a basic law. As you know, we are building on Gabrovo Okrug territory a model for our future socialist public health work in order to insure the successful solution of this entire complex of problems and make public health consistent with the high requirements of the developed socialist society. This model is a source of experience and a guideline for the direction taken and is valid for our entire country. One week ago, at a specially organized seminar attended by the entire leading aktiv of our public health system, everything which is being achieved there at this stage was reported and discussed.

I can report to you with a great deal of satisfaction that all those who attended the seminar considered very seriously the submitted information and felt quite clearly and tangibly that at the present time to us Gabrovo is, as the saying goes, the link which pulls ahead the entire chain of our public health system.

The main problem now is the way through which the rich Gabrovo experience could be transferred to other okrugs most rapidly and effectively. In this respect all okrug health managers, the ministry, and the Medical Academy must adopt an active attitude. I would like here to indicate particularly the great role which the PSZR should play.

Among others, we heard at the seminar a statement by Dr. Georgieva, from Tryavna, published in this issue of ZDRAVEN FRONT about which I would like to say a few words. What is the nature and particular value of this statement? Its innovational nature is the fact that on the basis of her own experience Dr. Georgieva convincingly proved what total preventive care means in a sector. She indicated the amount of such activities and described how and in what way the content of the work of the section physician changes; she indicated the way the section physician is becoming the real guardian watching over the health of his group. I think that we are fully justified in directing the comrades in Gabrovo, Plovdiv, and Pazardzhik to follow until the end of this year in all sectors the example and experience set by Dr. Georgieva and all other okrugs to apply the same experience in 50 percent of their sections.

Comrades, this would be the first July strike for the year in the leading front of our public health. I believe that there are no serious hindrances whatever to the implementation of this initial strike.

Comrades:

As you see yourselves we are faced with a very important battle on all fronts of the public health system. We are faced with tremendous intensive efforts to fulfill properly the instructions of the 11th party congress. Our country is taking a tremendous step forward to the bright prospects clearly earmarked at the 11th congress and the July plenum. For the sake of this future and for the sake of the health prosperity of our people we are appealing to all detachments in the trade union to engage in adamant and selfless work. Let the noble competition among all collectives develop with new strength after the congress; let us take up throughout the country the July movement for high quality and effectiveness in honor of Mayday, the battle holiday, and in honor of the noted Great October Revolution anniversary.

In order to achieve such a comprehensive mobilization we must launch tremendous organizational and educational work among all collectives, for the sake of achieving a change in the minds of the health workers, in their way of thinking, in their attitude toward labor, and in their feeling of responsibility. All detachments, all activists in our trade union must join such activities. Ideological and educational work is effective only when it is most closely linked with the implementation of plans and with the practical solution of problems.

Health workers in all parts of the country, regardless of where they work and what they are doing, must be thoroughly familiar with everything new which is being done or introduced in our public health establishments. They must clearly understand the idea and purpose and final objective of such new developments. Only thus will they become conscientious and active fighters for our renovated public health system.

It would be inconceivable to carry out this huge complex of tasks in implementing the decisions of the 11th party congress unless combining the efforts of the entire army of thousands of public health workers, upgrade their initiative and conscientious creativity, and train them to react sharply to all difficulties and obstacles arising on our headlong way, and fight actively against the various types of rust still found in the minds of many people.

As Comrade Todor Zhivkov said at the July plenum, all this requires "to engage in decisive battle tranquility, complacency, and indifference which frequently make us colorblind to life. Yet, the colors of life are not always rosy." All this calls for engaging in a decisive battle for the development of high-level discipline along all positions of our health front. The question of discipline, in its most basic meaning, is related to working time promptness, to the prompt beginning and completion of the work. This is not what we are discussing now. Discipline is eroded, for example, by doing indifferent work, examining indifferently, conducting an indifferent sanitary examination, and making an indifferent study ignoring the fact that such results could mislead someone or harm a patient. Let me also add to this the indifferent completion of a scientific project which would be accepted by reviewers and by the council; to provide indifferent methodical aid to justify an assignment; to write an official letter, instruction, and so on, indifferently so that, officially, we may consider our task fulfilled. Such an indifference has many aspects each of which erodes the quality and effectiveness of our work. It is safe to assume that those who follow this formula would also be paid "indifferently." This may reduce their number even further.

The maxim expressed at the July plenum by Comrade Todor Zhivkov is particularly valid today: "We have reached a stage at which everyone is responsible to all for everything." This basic formulation fully applies to public health cadres. Society has the right and obligation to expect of those who head the various units in our dynamic and complex health protection system to implement their functions and tasks most fully and most usefully in terms of the health of the people, to develop scientifically and organize the management process, to insure the fast and decisive elimination of criticized weaknesses and shortcomings, and to mobilize and involve the collectives in the practical implementation of the stipulations of party and state authorities in the field of national public health. Since our congress is a political event we could state from its rostrum that the problem of the responsibility of leading cadres and workers at all levels, the problem of a

scientifically substantiated assessment of results and of the effectiveness of their work is not an individual or departmental problem but a problem of primary political and social significance.

As you may see, we are faced with tremendous organizational and educational work. Such activities require far greater efforts than in the past on the part of the trade union authorities and organizations, and even greater unity and unanimous action on the part of administrative and trade union managers at all levels, from top to bottom. Now we must focus our fire even more accurately on a single target, and pursue a single objective. For this reason the administrative managers must rely even more actively on trade union authorities, seek their assistance and listen to their suggestions; in turn, the trade union leadership must study even more actively the problems and tasks facing the public health system and mobilize the collectives for their implementation. The strong cooperation and interaction within the general responsibility to the party for the health of the people conceals a great charge for the solution of the big and complex health problems at the present stage.

Comrades:

It is natural, in conclusion, to answer the following question: Could we fulfill successfully the exceptionally broad and meaningful tasks set by the 11th party congress to the health front, in the spirit of the high requirements and criteria of the remarkable July Central Committee Plenum? Could we bring into motion all our plans, programs, and decisions in such a way as to achieve their targets?

I believe that I shall be voicing the general and unanimous view of all delegates and all health workers with our collective "yes" to this question. An affirmative answer is contained not only in our entire conviction, desire, and resolve or our political and professional training. It has dominated the entire work of our congress. We saw in all the statements the high spirit and enthusiasm and total mobilization characterizing the work of public health collectives. Here we rated highly the example of those who are in the leading ranks, and the desire of everyone to equal them was demonstrated.

In our view this is the main guarantee that the general problems and tasks in health protection have been understood by the leading cadres, and trade union leaders and collectives. It is important now for this combat readiness, initiative, and innovation to be properly headed and directed by the administrative, party, and trade union leaderships.

I believe, Comrades, that we can unanimously assure the party's Central Committee and our party and state leaders that, united and rallied in their combat trade union, the public health workers will fulfill their highly humane duty, and implement the noble tasks and requirements of the 11th

congress and July plenum. Our entire work will be entirely subordinated to the party's slogan of high quality and effectiveness on the public health front. Those are the thoughts, and the type of full mobilization and readiness with which the Health Workers Trade Union is welcoming and will report to the Eighth Congress of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

Allow me to wish to all participants in the congress fruitful work, inspiration, and a creative spirit in their entire post-congress activities!

To work, Comrades, for new gains in the implementation of the party's health policy, and for new victories on the front of the people's health prosperity!

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CONGRESS OF MEDICAL WORKERS OUTLINES FUTURE TASKS

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 12 Mar 77 p 4

[Decisions of the Ninth Congress of the Health Workers Trade Union]

[Text] The Ninth Congress of the PSZR [Health Workers Trade Union] is taking place in circumstances marked by a great political and labor upsurge for the implementation of the decisions of the Eleventh Party Congress and July BCP Central Committee Plenum and for making the seventh five-year plan a five-year plan of high effectiveness and quality.

The health and social workers are mobilizing their efforts, knowledge, and creativity for the implementation of the main health protection tasks set by the party congress: "...the development of preventive measures, improvement of the quality of diagnosis and rehabilitation, and improvement of the organization and standards of services in medical establishments."

The struggle for higher quality and better medical and social health protection effectiveness is the focal point of the organizational and mass-political activities of the trade union authorities and public health collectives.

Having studied the activities of the trade union authorities and organizations in the accountability period, the Ninth PSZR Congress

notes:

The evaluations and conclusions contained in the report submitted by the PSZR Central Committee on activities between the two congresses, and the formulations and directions of future work are correct. In the course of the implementation of the decisions of the February 1972 BCP Central Committee Plenum, of the seventh Bulgarian Trade Unions Congress, and the eighth PSZR Congress, positive changes took place in the overall comprehensive activities of the PSZR. Its contribution to the struggle for the implementation of the public health policy of the BCP increased.

In the period under consideration the PSZR strengthened organizationally and ideologically. The congress rates highly the role of the PSZR Central

Committee in the further development and improvement of health protection. The new approach to the organization and management of the socialist competition is being applied successfully. In the period between the two congresses socialist competition developed further; its content and forms are being directly linked with the strategic health protection tasks. Its production-economic, social, and educational functions are increasing. The results of the competition help to improve the quality and standards of medical services in outpatient-policlinical, inpatient, hygiene-epidemiological, sanatorium-resort, pharmaceutical, and other health establishments. A model health protection establishment was built in Gabrovo Okrug, to be used as a standard for improving the organization and management of health protection and medical services.

The integration between the science of medicine and education contributed to the faster utilization of scientific achievements and technical progress in health protection.

The health and demographic indicators reached place socialist Bulgaria in the leading ranks of the world's health progress. The delegates to the congress accept with profound satisfaction and pleasure the assessment of the Eleventh BCP Congress on the unquestionable successes achieved by Bulgaria in the field of socialist health protection.

Considerable successes were achieved in the protection of labor and in providing social and household services to health workers. A five-day work week was introduced; sanitary-hygienic norms were formulated for all medical units of health institutions; a national labor safety program for health workers was approved; sanitary-hygienic procedures, the labor environment, and comfort in most health institutions were improved. The okrug people's councils are paying the differential to meet the free rents paid by health workers; the housing problem is no longer so acute, with the exception of Sofia, Plovdiv, and Varna. Successes were achieved in the fields of fortifying and rational nutrition.

In accordance with the implementation of the decisions of the February 1974 BCP Central Committee Plenum, the ideological-educational and mass cultural work of the trade union authorities and organizations and culture houses for the labor, moral, aesthetic, and class-party and internationalist education of health workers became more varied and purposeful.

In the period under consideration the trade union authorities and organizations within the public health system strengthened organizationally. The style and methods of work of the PSZR Central Committee, the PSZR okrug committees, and of trade union committees improved. Comprehensive use is being made of the target approach. Trade union democracy and the participation of public health workers in the administration of health protection expanded. The selection of trade union cadres and activists is better; their training has been improved and the voluntary principles in trade union activities have been broadened.

Along with the unquestionable successes and developing positive trends, the congress believes that the activities of trade union authorities and organizations have still not been entirely reorganized in the spirit of the requirements of the February 1972 BCP Central Committee Plenum, the Eleventh Party Congress, and the July BCP Central Committee Plenum.

Comrade T. Zhivkov's scientific concept of a new approach to the organization of the socialist competition at the stage of the developed socialist society has still not been fully implemented. Theoretical and applied science elaborations of the specific nature of the socialist competition in health protection have been insufficient; its educational possibilities have not been used optimally. Competition has still not become the style and method of work of some leading trade union and administrative health cadres.

The struggle for higher quality and greater medical and social effectiveness, for the more extensive dissemination of national health protection initiatives, and for the utilization of established leading experience has still not truly become the core, the essential feature of the competition.

The PSZR Central Committee and the Ministry of Public Health do not always promptly sum up and study the experience and initiative of public health collectives on the uninterrupted and improvement of the management and organization of the socialist competition.

The work of some PSZR okrug committees, trade union committees, and trade union groups for the implementation of the counter plans of the collectives, and for finding internal organizational, material, and cadre reserves remains unsatisfactory.

The condition of the labor safety and way of life of public health workers does not meet the requirements of the December Party Program; some public health establishments lack the necessary hygienic, spatial and functional working conditions for public health workers and for the patients. The process of reconstruction and modernization is not being fully used for the installation of new equipment and technologies, and for minor mechanization facilities which would facilitate the work of semi-higher, secondary, and junior medical workers. The question of the quality, type, models, and norms governing work clothing, shoes, and personal safety means, and for the rational, fortifying and dietary nutrition of public health workers has not been resolved entirely and everywhere. The problem of health worker housing is acute in the okrug and industrial heavily congested centers.

A number of weaknesses are delaying the processes of reorganization and effectiveness exist in ideological-political and mass propaganda work. There is not always a consistency among the number, quality, effectiveness, and final results of implemented measures. They are insufficiently purposeful in terms of enhancing the quality and standards of medical services, improving patient care, strengthening the labor discipline, and upgrading the sociopolitical and professional conscientiousness of public health workers.

The congress notes that the scientific approach is still insufficiently used in organizational work; control of implementation of assignments is not on the necessary level. The development of criticism and self-criticism is still not in the spirit of the requirements of the July BCP Central Committee Plenum: the work of the leading trade union authorities with the trade union groups is insufficiently systematic and purposeful. The selection and training of reserve trade union cadres are not always comprehensive. The organization of meetings and production conferences is not on the necessary level in some trade union units.

In order to insure the successful implementation of the tasks set by the Eleventh Party Congress and the July BCP Central Committee Plenum, and enhance further the role of the trade union in the implementation of the party's policy in the field of health protection, the Eleventh PSZR Congress

resolves:

Approves the activities of the PSZR Central Committee for the accountability period.

On behalf of the thousands of public health workers the congress expresses its profound gratitude to the BCP and its Dimitrov Central Committee, headed by Comrade T. Zhivkov, for their concern and attention for the development and improvement of socialist health protection and the health workers. The congress expresses the unity and solidarity of the health workers with the party-leader; it accepts the decisions of the Eleventh BCP Congress and the July BCP Central Committee Plenum as a guide for the organizational and ideological-educational work of the PSZR and determines that the main efforts of the trade union authorities and organizations in the field of health protection in the future must be directed toward the following objectives and tasks:

Development of the Socialist Competition, High Medical and Social Effectiveness and Quality of Health Protection in the Seventh Five-Year Plan

The overall activities of the trade union authorities and organizations must be subordinated to the implementation of the main strategic task set by the party: upgrading the quality and medical-social effectiveness of socialist health protection.

The congress directs the PSZR Central Committee and the trade union authorities and organizations to focus their forces on the full implementation of the party's stipulations elaborated by Comrade T. Zhivkov for a comprehensive approach to the organization and management of the socialist competition, and for upgrading its production, social, and educational functions. The struggle for high quality and effectiveness in health protection activities and medical work must become the basic objective and content of the competition. The competitive efforts and creativity of the health workers must be linked most closely with the implementation of the main health protection tasks of the seventh five-year plan. To this effect the following must be accomplished:

Further development of preventive care based on programs approved by the Council of Ministers;

Improving the quality of diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation, improvement of the organization and standards of services and comprehensive care for hospital patients;

Rapid utilization of the achievements of medical science, technical progress, and leading practical experience;

Fullest possible and effective determination of possibilities for raising the quality of medical work and all health protection activities;

Steady upgrading of cadre qualifications;

All-round study and practical utilization of the rich Soviet production and organizational experience.

The Health Workers Trade Union shall continue the line of improving the scientific organization and management of the socialist competition in public health, social institutions, and enterprises on the basis of the Leninist organizational principles of publicity, comparability of results, and practical duplication of leading experience.

Together with the Ministry of Public Health, using available experience, the PSZR Central Committee shall improve the system of interokrug competition (for labor glory banners) and the method of intraestablishment competition. Tasks, indicators, and criteria shall be expanded or introduced reflecting and encompassing more fully the medical, social, and economic effectiveness, and quality and standards of medical services.

The trade union authorities and organizations shall focus their attention on the development of the competition among the collectives in small health establishments and in the rural medical-prophylactic network.

The congress directs the PSZR Central Committee and the Ministry of Public Health to earmark within a short period of time specific measures and develop the necessary organizational, material, and educational prerequisites for a decisive improvement of patient care in hospitals; the administrative and trade union authorities and organizations shall apply the two-stage services and provide comprehensive patient care. The main criterion in the competitive and educational activities of the trade union authorities and organizations in public health establishments must be the reduction of morbidity with temporary disability as an important factor for upgrading social labor productivity. The efforts must be focused on optimizing the labor environment, and improving the standards of services and quality of medical labor expert evaluations.

Together with the Ministry of Public Health the PSZR Central Committee shall organize an administrative-public review aimed at upgrading the quality and

medical and social effectiveness of health protection in the seventh five-year plan. The purposes and content of this review shall be enriched through the use of the Soviet experience in controlling the quality of medical work and health protection activities.

The congress directs the PSZR Central Committee, together with the Ministry of Public Health, to enhance even higher the role of counter planning under the specific conditions governing health protection.

The PSZR Central Committee shall assess the effectiveness of some methods of individual participation of public health workers in the competition--individual creative plans, pledges, individual contracts, and others--and shall take measures to eliminate formalism in their utilization.

The congress recommends to the Ministry of Public Health to continue to direct its efforts toward expanding the state-public principle and to upgrading the role, place, and responsibility of administrative managers concerning the condition, organization, and management of the socialist competition.

The PSZR Central Committee and the Ministry of Public Health shall develop a system aimed at enhancing the theoretical and methodical training of management cadres and of the trade union aktiv on the foundations of the theory and practice of the socialist competition in public health. The ideological criterion of the contribution by every manager to the competition and to its conversion into an inseparable part of the style and methods of management shall be applied in the certification of management cadres.

The PSZR Central Committee shall cooperate with the Ministry of Public Health and the Medical Academy in continuously upgrading the quality of university and semi-higher medical training, and the implementation and improvement of the existing system of post-graduate cadre training in all public health units.

The congress directs the PSZR Central Committee, together with the Ministry of Public Health, continuously to improve the system of mass utilization of scientific achievements and leading experience in health protection on the basis of target programs.

It directs the trade union authorities and organizations to cooperate with the public health departments of okrug people's councils and the respective administrative managements for the study, and prompt and mass application of the example of model health protection in Gabrovo Okrug during the second stage.

The PSZR Central Committee and the Ministry of Public Health shall create the necessary conditions for improving scientific and technical creativity and the rationalization and invention work of public health workers, particularly young medical cadres.

The congress directs the PSZR Central Committee and Ministry of Public Health and all trade union authorities and organizations to improve their methods for upgrading the effectiveness of spiritual incentive and the labor and social activeness of public health workers.

The PSZR Central Committee and the trade union authorities and organizations shall carry out organizational and mass-political work for the proper application of the uniform table of organization and the implementation of its intent.

On Resolving the Social Problems of Public Health Workers

The congress directs the trade union authorities and organizations to improve uninterruptedly their social functions in the implementation of the December 1972 BCP Central Committee Program.

The main directions in the work of trade union and administrative managements in the sector related to labor safety must be linked with the comprehensive-target utilization of the funds for the national labor safety and hygiene program during the seventh five-year plan.

The immediate organizational and practical activities of administrative and trade union managements and authorities at all levels shall be directed toward the elimination of existing disparities between normative and ergonomic requirements and the factual condition of the working environment in health and social institutions and enterprises--level of artificial light, technical equipment, noise and dust levels, and others.

The congress directs the PSZR Central Committee to resolve, together with the Ministry of Public Health, the problem of standardizing working and hospital furniture in public health establishments.

The PSZR Central Committee and its authorities shall enhance the level and upgrade the effectiveness of their preventive and current labor safety control and communal-living facilities at all stages--studies, planning, and designing and the construction, reconstruction, and modernization of public health and social establishments.

Together with the Ministry of Public Health the PSZR Central Committee shall elaborate scientific proposals consistent with the specific nature of the work and the manpower structure in resolving problems of the work and leisure time regimen of health workers under the conditions of a five-day work week.

The congress directs the PSZR okrug and trade union committees to assist the administrative managements and provide uninterrupted control over the rational organization of labor and the effective utilization of manpower resources under the conditions of a five-day work week, aimed at decisively lowering the amount of overtime and the observance of labor legislation.

Together with the Ministry of Public Health and the Association of the Deaf in Bulgaria, the PSZR Central Committee shall take the necessary measures to insure the more efficient solution of the problems of the variety, type, and models of work clothing, shoes, and individual safety means. They shall seek the assistance of the Central Committee of Bulgarian Trade Unions for the special manufacturing of high quality fabrics for work clothing and shoes for public health workers, suitable for disinfection, and heat processing, and consistent with modern functional and aesthetic requirements. The PSZR okrug and trade union committees shall actively participate in the study of the requirements and provide timely control over planning; they shall be strict concerning the quality, variety, and standards of work clothing, shoes, and individual safety facilities.

Together with the administrative managements the PSZR Central Committee and the trade union organizations shall improve their work in providing medical services to public health workers. They shall study and analyze on a differentiated and comprehensive basis the reasons and factors for the high level of morbidity among public health workers and organize effective measures for its reduction and protection of cadre health.

The congress directs the PSZR Central Committee, together with the Ministry of Public Health, to make again the necessary presentations for insuring free supplies of drugs for outpatient and home treatment of public health workers.

The efforts of the administrative and trade union authorities and organizations in resolving the living problems of health workers must be directed toward the implementation of the measures included in the long-term program of the Ministry of Public Health and PSZR Central Committee for the seventh five-year plan.

The congress directs the PSZR okrug and trade union committees to energize their activities and control on the implementation of all laws pertaining to providing health workers with housing facilities. It calls upon the Ministry of Public Health to make the necessary presentations to the respective state authorities to raise the ceiling of housing construction for public health workers.

The congress directs the PSZR Central Committee, the PSZR okrug committees, and the trade union committees to help the administrative authorities and specialists in establishing a rational nutrition system in public health establishments.

The trade union authorities and organizations shall improve their organizational and control activities for the solution of the problem of dietary nutrition in accordance with the documents of the Ministry of Public Health and the PSZR Central Committee.

The congress directs the PSZR Central Committee to submit a proposal to the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions on raising the limit of the averaged gross income per family member with a view to reducing the cost of

dietary food used and resolving the problem of free breakfast for pregnant women within the public health system.

The PSZR Central Committee and Ministry of Public Health shall make efforts to increase and insure the rational utilization of bedding facilities in the existing sanatorium-recovery institutions and the building of new ones in order to expand the resting facilities for public health workers. It directs the PSZR okrug committees and suggests to the public health departments to seek possibilities and reserves for the establishment of inexpensive material facilities for the organization of permanent and weekly rest for health workers.

It directs the PSZR Central Committee to make new presentations to the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions to increase the share in the allocation of rest facilities for the sector based on the "importance and difficulty of the work" indicator.

For a More Effective PSZR Ideological-Educational and Mass Cultural Work

The congress believes that in the forthcoming period the overall ideological-educational and mass cultural work of the trade union authorities and organizations must be focused on molding the personality of the public health worker who must have high level socialist conscientiousness and idea-mindedness, culture, professional ethics, and morality.

To this purpose:

The overall trade union ideological-political and mass cultural work must be transferred to the labor collective. New and more effective methods must be applied for the labor and moral upbringing of the health worker and for his creative expression in the course of the labor process.

An intolerant and uncompromising attitude must be developed against the promoters of a consumer attitude, of the "small truth", and of low labor and professional discipline, medical ethics, and morality, making even better use of the educational influence of the commissions on professional qualification, medical ethics and morality, and the moral code of the physician in the Bulgarian People's Republic. The trade union committees must bring to light more adamantly the positive trends and methods for upgrading the influence of the movement for a "Collective With High Professional Qualifications, Medical Ethics, and Morality", as a specific method for the upbringing of the members of the public health collective.

Together with the Ministry of Public Health the PSZR Central Committee shall analyze the reasons for unsatisfactory results and the educational impact of the movement for a "Collective With High Professional Qualifications, Medical Ethics, and Morality", and adopt measures for its comprehensive coordination with basic health protection and educational tasks.

The congress directs the trade union authorities, together with the Komsomol committees and societies in public health institutions to take measures

aimed at upgrading the professional skills and labor and moral upbringing of young medical cadres, for insuring their full expression in the work and sociopolitical life of the collectives.

The labor and moral education of semi-higher and middle medical cadres shall be linked most closely with the organization and improvement of two-step patient care.

The individual work of champions, leading workers, and managers done with young medical workers shall be improved and the Soviet tutorship experience shall be expanded.

The congress recommends to the Ministry of Public Health to review and supplement the curricula of Medical Academy and semi-higher medical institute students with a view to upgrading their practical training and developing moral and ethical virtues consistent with the humane nature of the medical profession in the course of their training. The central and okrug PSZR committees shall provide systematic and purposeful aid to the trade union committees in the base medical training institutions insuring the optimal organization of the labor, training, and education process.

The main direction to be followed in the ideological activities of trade union authorities and organizations shall be the further enhancement of the political, patriotic, and international awareness of public health workers. The nature of the new stage in Bulgaria-Soviet relations and of the continuously intensified integration between Bulgarian and Soviet public health and medicine shall be depicted convincingly and on the basis of specific facts.

The health workers' culture, homes, and clubs shall be developed as methodical centers for ideological, educational, and cultural activities aimed at upgrading the overall and aesthetic culture, specialized knowledge, and political guidance of health workers.

The congress believes that the role of the trade union press must be enhanced ever further, particularly of ZDRAVEN FRONT, the sectorial newspaper, as an agitator and propagandist of the party's health policy, and successes achieved in public health, cadre training, and exchange of positive organizational and production experience. The PSZR Central Committee shall take steps to increase the newspaper's size and circulation.

The PSZR Central Committee, the Ministry of Public Health, the PSZR okrug committees, and the public health departments of okrug people's councils shall make more extensive use of mass information media for the overall depiction of the successes achieved in socialist health protection and enhancing the social prestige of the medical profession and work.

The congress directs the PSZR Central Committee, together with the Ministry of Public Health, Bulgarian Red Cross Central Committee, and the Union of Scientific Medical Societies to renew their presentation for allowing the

construction of a health house in Sofia, seeking the assistance of the most responsible party, state, and trade union authorities in our country.

For Mass Physical Culture, Sports, and Tourism

The congress directs the trade union authorities and organizations to develop even greater efforts to spread physical culture, sports, and tourism among public health workers.

To this effect:

Specific organizational methods must be found to surmount the lagging in the field of mass recovery work; production calisthenics must be applied more extensively in the daily schedule of public health collectives.

With the help of the proper administrative managements, by the end of 1980 the PSZR Central Committee, the PSZR okrug committees, and the trade union committees shall develop basic sports facilities in the okrug and rayon centers to make possible sports and physical culture exercises by all public health workers. To this effect specific plans-programs must be elaborated before the end of 1977 and a competition launched.

Upgrading the Activeness of Trade Union Public Health Authorities and Organizations

The ninth congress directs the trade union organs and organizations to continue their firm efforts to improve the style and methods of work and management of the comprehensive trade union activities.

To this effect:

They shall apply ever more extensively a scientific approach to the work of the PSZR Central Committee and the PSZR okrug committees;

They shall experiment and apply new forms for upgrading the effectiveness of trade union work;

The trade union authorities at all levels shall master and apply the program-target and comprehensive approaches in planning their work. Control of execution shall be improved and, as the basic guiding principle in trade union work, it shall assume a systematic, all-embracing, and preventive nature.

The congress directs the trade union authorities and organizations to expand and assert collectivism and democracy in trade union activities. In the spirit of the July BCP Central Committee Plenum more extensive use shall be made of criticism and self-criticism as powerful means for the study and assessment of achievements, the struggle against shortcomings, the education of trade union members, and the broadening of trade union democracy.

Trade Union meetings and production conferences must be subjected to stricter requirements being the basic organizational methods for the mass participation of public health workers in the administration of the public health service and a means for the expression of trade union democracy.

The PSZR Central Committee and PSZR okrug committees and the trade union committees shall be concerned with the further strengthening and improvement of the work of trade union organizations and groups thus promoting their activeness and competence in the implementation of production and organizational tasks. New methods and experience shall be sought, exchanged, and applied; models for mass organizational work by the primary trade union organizations and groups shall be developed.

The congress recommends to the PSZR Central Committee to improve its coordination and unity of action with sectorial and territorial trade union authorities in order to develop comprehensive cooperation for the implementation of the tasks of the seventh five-year plan related to public health.

The congress calls upon the PSZR Central Committee and trade union authorities to improve the political, business, and professional qualities of trade union cadres; to broaden the public participation principle and be concerned with selection and training of reserve management trade union cadres.

On the basis of the uniform system of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions on the training of trade union cadres and activists, the PSZR Central Committee and okrug committees shall dedicate systematic efforts to broaden the knowledge and competence of trade union cadres and activists on specific problems of trade union activities in the public health system.

International Activities

In the future as well friendly relations between the PSZR and the medical workers trade unions of the USSR, fraternal socialist countries, and capitalist and developing countries shall be broadened and strengthened. Proletarian internationalism shall be strengthened and developed and the efforts in the struggle for peace and social progress shall be unified.

The study and application of the historical experience of the Soviet trade unions and Soviet medicine and public health shall assume a leading position in the international activities of the trade union.

The Ninth PSZR Congress expresses its confidence that the PSZR Central Committee, trade union authorities and organizations, and public health collectives will fulfill honorably the decisions of the Eleventh BCP Congress and July BCP Central Committee Plenum. Closely rallied around the party line, they shall make the seventh five-year plan a five-year plan of high quality and effectiveness in public health in order to protect the health, ability to work, and longevity of the Bulgarian people.

CPCZ CONTROL WORK IN THE CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLE'S ARMY

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 2, Feb 77 pp 107-113

[Article by Dr Cyril Rabusic, Main Political Directorate, Czechoslovak People's Army]

[Text] The results that have been achieved to date in the gradual implementation of the resolutions of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ in the Czechoslovak People's Army also tend to confirm the validity of the goals that have been assigned to party-political work. The consistent fulfillment of the Leninist principles governing armed forces consolidation and management--primarily through the enforcement and further strengthening of the leading role of the communist party at all levels and in all functional areas--is mainly concerned with the making of well-planned preparations for the defense of socialist society.

Under the leadership of the CPCZ the army is working constantly to strengthen its posture of combat and mobilization readiness as an important factor contributing to the promotion of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. At the party's 15th Congress the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, comrade Gustav Husak, stated that we have an army we can depend upon, an army which is at all times prepared to carry out its patriotic and international duties. This appraisal is being further substantiated at the present time as well. During the past training year (1975-1976) the army has increased its combat strength and strengthened its ties with the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries, including most importantly the Soviet Army; the soldiers of our army have made further progress in learning how to use the latest kinds of modern military equipment and in mastering the complex and challenging methods of modern military science.

In connection with the development of initiative and political activism nearly all of the pledges made by individuals, units, and formations in honor of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ were fulfilled. During the current training year, in honor of the 32nd anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army and the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, additional formation-wide pledges have been adopted that are dedicated

to the thorough and proper fulfillment of the tasks ordered by the minister of national defense relative to the training of CSLA [Czechoslovak People's Army] troops. Through their diligent work commanders, political officers, and communists are contributing to the increased combat and political preparedness of CSLA soldiers.

The control and revision commissions attached to the party-political organs of the CSLA are also playing a prominent role in the fulfillment of these challenging tasks. These control and revision commissions were established in accordance with the statutes of the CPCZ and the guidelines of the CPCZ Central Committee governing the work of political organs in the CSLA. Their position is a function of the special tasks involved in the consolidation of an armed forces party organization under conditions marked by an integral chain of command and of the special nature of the work of political organs. As is the case with the district and regional KRK's [control and revision commissions] of the CPCZ, these bodies engage in political control and revision work, hear appeals lodged by party members concerning membership questions, and investigate and take disciplinary action against communists who violate the rules set down in the party statutes. In addition, they also validate the resolutions of membership meetings of CPCZ basic organizations concerning the acceptance of party candidates and members, and, on a more serious level, they validate resolutions on expulsions and membership revocations, as well as resolutions concerning the exclusion of persons from CPCZ candidate member lists. The results and conclusions of commission meetings are passed on to the appropriate heads of political organizations for final approval. In turn, all of the official activities of the control and revision commissions in the CSLA ultimately result in the issuance of a valid ruling by the head of the appropriate political organ.

In light of the above it is apparent that the control and revision commissions are a relatively autonomous component of the sole party organ in the CSLA, i.e., the political organ of general jurisdiction whose entire work is devoted to the making of principled and objective judgments on internal party questions which it is authorized to examine in accordance with the guidelines laid down by the CPCZ Central Committee. The work of the commissions is coordinated with the efforts and requirements of the political organs and overseen by the political organ directors. At the same time, however, they work to develop stronger mutual ties with other commissions in individual service echelons in response to tasks assigned by the CPCZ and the army party organization and give regular assistance to lower-echelon commissions. Commission members are elected by party conferences of large units and units (except for members of the KRK attached to the Main Political Administration of the CSLA who are appointed by the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee). Those nominated to fill commission positions must be theoretically well trained and politically reliable communists who must "... achieve a maximum degree of precision and consistency in their work..."¹ Their dedicated commitment to strengthening the party's unity and capacity for action is increasing the prestige of and deepening the trust in the commissions. The demands of the 15th Congress as expressed by comrade Jakes also apply in all respects to the

¹ V. I. Lenin. "How We Should Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate," in "Spisy" [Works], Vol 33, p 485.

KRK's in the CSLA, namely, the demands to increase the effectiveness of KRK work, to make a maximum contribution to the fulfillment of the resolutions of the 15th Congress and the CPCZ Central Committee, and to consistently carry out the tasks assigned under the terms of our party's statutes.

Control work is one of the most effective working methods employed by the control and revision commissions that is contributing to the efficient fulfillment of the main tasks of the training year. In this connection our commissions are focusing on the work of the basic party organizations and communists. Based on the recommendations of the directors of political organs, the commissions evaluate the principles governing party-political work and the Leninist norms of party life as they relate to party membership in general, the rights and duties of communists, organizational structure, provisions for maintaining the unity of the army party organization, as well as to the promotion of criticism and self-criticism. Based on the findings arrived at as a result of these evaluations--in keeping with the guidelines of the CPCZ Central Committee--the commissions advise the political organ directors of shortcomings in the work of the CPCZ basic organizations and of incidents that are indicative of a violation of the party's political, ideological, organizational, or functional unity, party discipline, and the responsibility of communists with regard to the fulfillment of adopted resolutions and make suggestions on how to rectify such situations.

During the past training year (1975-1976), in accordance with proposals and techniques developed by the Central Control and Revision Commission of the CPCZ, the control and revision commissions [of the CSLA] conducted control investigations of follow-up work on the recommendations and suggestions that were made at the annual CPCZ membership meetings and conferences in the CSLA. All of the commissions investigated more than 20 percent of all the basic party organizations in the CSLA and some of the political sections of the large units. The results of this investigation showed that during the period following the 14th Congress of the CPCZ there was a substantial improvement in the quality of the follow-up work performed by CPCZ basic organizations, political organs, and individual commanders on the recommendations, suggestions and proposals made by individual communists. The manner in which these proposals are dealt with has also been improved, especially by means of the systematic appraisal of the discussion periods of CPCZ basic organization membership meetings. Commanders and departmental directors have become more involved in this process, and they have assumed a larger part of the responsibility for the final disposition of the recommendations that are made. Special attention is being devoted to problems that directly concern the management and organizational work of commanders and staffs. Out of the total rather large number of critical recommendations that were raised at the annual membership meetings of the CPCZ basic organizations and party conferences of the political sections encompassed by this control investigation nearly 83 percent were handled within the jurisdictions of the CPCZ basic organizations at the formation level and the political sections at the unit level; only 17 percent of these recommendations were referred to higher-level political organs. This too attests to the increased efforts being made by communists to fulfill their

tasks in a skilled and efficient manner and to eliminate the shortcomings brought to their attention for the most part within their own spheres of competence. It is also interesting to note that in addition to these critical observations, the annual membership meetings also provided a forum for the presentation of a number of proposals and suggestions which are indicative of the constructive approach taken by communists to the principal tasks that are assigned in the areas of combat readiness, training, discipline, and improving the quality of military equipment.

However, in addition to these positive findings, the control investigation also revealed shortcomings, errors, and untapped potential in the work of some CPCZ basic organizations.

In the first place, there is a certain amount of inconsistency in the way the discussion periods of membership meetings are evaluated. The generality of the minutes of party organization meetings is not conducive to promoting concrete action aimed at clearing up situations that lead to the making of critical recommendations, and this amounts to a failure to consistently live up to the principles set forth by the CPCZ Central Committee on 13 May 1975 under the heading "Ways to Improve the Work of Party Organs and Organizations in the Handling of Critical Recommendations." Certain important recommendations and suggestions are not being handled in a thorough and consistent manner. CPCZ basic organization committees are frequently content to merely elucidate the reasons behind a complaint or to state the opinions of commanders and career officers without taking any specific action designed to eliminate the shortcomings being criticized. In other cases, important recommendations are not referred for further action to the appropriate responsible organs, which in turn serves to reduce the activism and motivation of communists. In working with critical recommendations there is also room for improvement in terms of their substantive handling. It often happens that more attention is paid primarily to their administrative and formal processing, while the substance of such observations is merely explained away or justified without being settled once and for all. Another weak link in the work of some CPCZ basic organization committees consists in the failure to conduct follow-up investigations into the implementation of formally approved courses of action, especially those which are expected to be carried out in the future.

This control investigation, which was helpful in determining the current status of control and revision work and also in revealing certain shortcomings in this area, thus demonstrated that during the recent period both the CPCZ basic organizations and the political organs have done a better job in working with critical recommendations, proposals, and suggestions. Regardless of the number of major problems that are still unresolved, these units have succeeded in increasing the degree of responsibility assumed by most commanders and career officers by insisting on further improvements in the quality of work performed in response to critical recommendations, the assertion of internal party democracy, and the further development of activism and initiative on the part of all communists in all of the army's party organizations.

The control and revision commissions in the CSLA are playing a major role in the implementation of the resolution of the second session of the CPCZ Central Committee of 16 June 1976 on "Upgrading the Quality of the Party's Membership Base." In so doing they are relying on the extensive experience gained during the preceding period as well as responding to the requirements stipulated in the resolutions of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ, the resolutions of the Central Committee, and the instructions of the Main Political Administration of the CSLA.

Working together with other appropriate political organs, the control and revision commissions are striving to further upgrade the quality of the membership base of the army's party organization. This is a question of making an effort to constantly strengthen the leading role and influence of the party in all parts of the CSLA, to increase the quality of work performed by party organizations and political organs in the course of consolidating the ideological and political maturity, activism and proper distribution of communists, and to recruit those kinds of candidates and young party members who will contribute to further significant qualitative changes in the membership base. In carrying out this resolution control and revision commissions are not supposed to confine themselves to the merely administrative confirmation of the acceptance of candidates and young new members into the party. On the contrary, the commissions are making an active contribution to the improvement of the standards employed in the recruitment and training of candidate members. They are making an all out effort to meet the demand for "quality instead of quantity." In discussing the resolutions of membership meetings concerned with the acceptance of candidate and full member nominations the commissions are primarily interested in determining whether the approval of such nominations will result in an improvement in the CSLA's party membership base in terms social origin and age. They try to ascertain whether quality was the decisive criterion used in the recruitment of candidates and full members and whether the CPCZ basic organizations are making a determined effort to provide for their ideological, theoretical, and practical training, their substantive guidance in the course of performing assigned tasks, and their active participation in the affairs of the party organizations.

In their personal dealings with accepted candidates and full members the control and revision commissions are learning a great deal about their individual qualities and about the nature of the organizational and administrative working relationships that exist between these comrades and their CPCZ basic organizations. This information is then transmitted to the appropriate political organs so that they can make full use of it in the course of developing specific differentiated approaches to the administrative control of basic party organizations and in the course of promoting qualitative improvements in the structure of the party's rank-and-file membership.

Substantial changes have been made in the way party candidate members are recruited from among the ranks of private soldiers, especially during the period following the 14th Congress. At the present time privates account for more than 18 percent of the party's total membership base in the CSLA.

Their proportional representation in the party grew from 1.47 percent in 1971 to 7.16 percent in 1976. This development undoubtedly serves to augment the direct influence exercised by the army party organization on the troops that make up the lowest ranking units. This growth in party membership among private soldiers is also attributable to the efforts of industrial and residential party organizations which have lately been accepting a larger number of draftees prior to their entry on duty in the CSLA (around 3 - 4 percent). In this connection it is the duty of commanders, party organizations, and political organs in the CSLA to see to it that all of the requirements set by the 15th Congress are complied with. Comrade Husak has emphasized that the CSLA "...is a school in which young people become physically and morally tempered and achieve political maturity, a school in which they learn courage, discipline, and the principles of organized and collective action and gain the experience and knowledge they will need throughout the rest of their lives."

The acceptance and training of private soldiers as members of the CPCZ fortifies the class structure and simultaneously strengthens the membership base of the various basic party organizations [in the civilian world], primarily in industrial plants and unified agricultural cooperatives. The influence of the party on non-party members and its effectiveness in stimulating their motivated and active participation in the construction of a developed socialist society are growing and strengthening. At the same time the quality and activism of party organizations in the units and formations of the CSLA are also increasing. Candidate members are making a significant contribution to the greater ideological and political steadfastness, the improved moral and political standing, and the greater military discipline and psychological preparedness of CSLA soldiers.

In keeping with these requirements it is necessary to devote more attention to the ideological and theoretical training of young communists in connection with the current drive to promote the practical fulfillment of assigned tasks. The need to take a systematic and determined approach to the task of working with these young candidate members is also conditioned by the fact that they account for nearly 80 percent of the total membership of the CPCZ basic organizations, especially in the lowest ranking units and regiments as well as in the military academies. At the same time 25 percent of these young candidates have had no formal party training whatever.

In connection with the recruitment and training of young candidates and full members we are trying to coordinate our efforts more closely with those being made by other appropriate basic and neighborhood party organizations as well as by the CPCZ district committees. In the first place, this is essential, because it is a well known fact that this kind of cooperation can only run for a short period of time--1 year at the most. Most importantly though, personal evaluations obtained from places of employment and residence permit a thorough assessment of prospective members and make it possible to recruit as candidates those soldiers--Socialist Youth Union members who are politically

and professionally best qualified, who have a positive attitude toward the policies of the CPCZ and general social interests and an understanding of the need for fraternal ties with the Soviet Union and its army, in addition to an exemplary personal background. But before they enter the reserves we consider it to be essential that they should be provided with an intensive and well-planned course of ideological, theoretical, and political-organizational training which will give them the basic knowledge they will need to become actively involved in the work of party organizations in civilian life.

The control and revision commissions are directly involved in the continuous effort aimed at insuring the purity of the party ranks, which is an integral part of the effort to upgrade the quality of the membership base. In so doing they consistently follow the Lessons of the Crisis Period in the Party and Society Following the 13th Congress of the CPCZ in the course of applying the principles of democratic centralism and internal party democracy and in the course of providing for the constant regeneration of the active commitment of communists in party organizations.² Past experience shows that control and revision commissions must take a stricter approach to the evaluation of the exemplary standards set by communists in the course of meeting the requirements stipulated by the statutes of the CPCZ and by the guidelines of the CPCZ Central Committee for the work of party organizations in the CSLA, in the course of their displaying a motivated and disciplined attitude toward the fulfillment of party tasks, in their political commitment, and in their personal lives. As in the past they must continue to gear their activities toward setting a good example by dealing firmly with members and candidates who do harm to "the good name of the party."³ Based on the findings of their investigations and pursuant to the instructions of political organ directors, they must wage an active struggle aimed at preventing situations in which members and candidates fail to carry out their party duties, act in a manner that is patently contrary to the goals set by the 15th Congress of the CPCZ, the documents of the CPCZ Central Committee and our party statutes, abuse their party affiliation to further their own self-seeking and careerist goals, disrupt the ideological solidarity of the party, and take a laissez faire attitude toward alien, non-Marxist views, especially insofar as such views violate the principles of socialist patriotism and internationalism.

In carrying out these tasks the control and revision commissions will also continue to rely on the efforts of their own activists and on the positions taken by appropriate basic party organizations and political sections, and in handling all questions having to do with membership status they will continue to consistently apply the principle which calls for the critical analysis of specific verified facts and statements so that their conclusions will be objective, fitting, and persuasive and not open to question by anyone.

²"A Resolution on Current Questions Affecting Party Unity," Central Committee of the CPCZ, 11 December 1970.

³"Report on Party Affairs and Social Development Since the 14th Congress of the CPCZ and the Future Tasks of the Party."

The control and revision commission attached to the highest party-political organ in the CSLA, that is, to the Main Political Administration, has been sanctioned by the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, pursuant to the directives of the CPCZ Central Committee, to proceed with its work scheduled for the upcoming five-year operating period. Following up on the extensive experience it gained during the preceding period (1970-1976), both during the purification of the party ranks after the political crisis of 1968-1969 and in the course of performing its control and revision work and handling membership questions, the commission will now begin to work toward the consistent fulfillment of the tasks which have been assigned to it in light of the policies established by the 15th Congress of the CPCZ.

Based on the statutes of the party and the guidelines of the CPCZ Central Committee and other appropriate party documents as well as in response to the requirements levied by the director of the Main Political Administration of the CSLA and the recommendations and assistance of the Central Control and Revision Commission of the CPCZ, the commission will also continue to contribute to the strengthening of the leading role of the CPCZ in the CSLA, to the intensification of party-political work with emphasis on the application of the principles of democratic centralism and internal party democracy, as well as to the improvement of the quality of the membership base.

What we must do here is see to it that we take an ambitious and responsible approach to the fulfillment of these requirements and that, in keeping with the resolutions of the 15th Congress, we focus our attention on the further consolidation of the ideological, organizational, and functional solidarity of the party ranks in the CSLA. It is for these reasons, among others, that new and greater demands will be imposed on each member of the control and revision commission, on his sense of dedication, discipline, innovativeness, and on his capacity to work actively toward the fulfillment of assigned tasks.

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CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SECRETARY EMPHASIZES RIGHTS OF CSSR TRADE UNIONS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Mar 77 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Marik, secretary of the Central Trade Union Council:
"Trade Union Rights and Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] The growing political activity and social responsibility of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] in the period before the 9th All Trade Union Congress attests to the broad area of activity of this largest mass organization of the working class and other workers. They convincingly refute the fabrications of bourgeois propaganda and their agitators about the lack of union rights in socialist countries and once again demonstrate that socialist society is actually ensuring the realization of such workers' rights as capitalism frequently does not even allow to be declared formally.

The active influence of unions in our plants and institutes in especially characterized by their position which makes it possible to enlist the masses for building up the economy, organize participation of the people in its management, develop party-wide concern for the workers, influence their class consciousness and integrate them more and more into the cultural life.

The Party--Fighter for Trade Union Rights

One of the basic principles of the policy of the party, as the leading force of the laboring class, was always the attainment of trade union unity, leading the unions through the solution of economic problems to political goals, so that they could consistently implement their revolutionary mission in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the establishment and building of socialism. The trade union policy of the party, stemming from Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, thus combines in itself not only the political interest of the working class but always also the securing of these political interests through the material, social and legal achievements of the workers and trade unions. Therefore, our unions, as organizations of the ruling class, cannot be nonpolitical, because their position in the political system of socialism is predetermined by the place that they party won for the workers by liberating them from exploitation and by the establishment of socialism.

The party has always joined together the political and economic battle, empowered it and guided the efforts to secure the achievements of the unions as labor organizations politically, organizationally and legally. Even back in the period of the antifascist struggle on our territory Comrades Jan Sverma and G. Husak, as representatives of the party at the Podbrezova conference of plant committees and trade union advisers in October 1944, declared that the policy of the party in the struggle for the democratic, social and legal rights of workers must be carried out by organizational formation of union unity and legally founded on democratic authority of plant committees.

The older generation of workers themselves verified where the splintering of trade unions was leading, how the guild, professional and reformist cleavage weakened and impeded effective protection of workers' interests. The principle of one factory, one organization projected into the whole movement expresses the real social, class and moral-political unity and makes certain that the unions by their combined forces direct their course, under party leadership, toward the revolutionary transition of society to socialism and communism. Today's position of the unions in all plants, branches and krajs is proof of the rightness of the free decisions of our workers to close their ranks behind a uniform trade union movement as a precondition for the real influence of workers on the economy and public affairs. Therefore, no bourgeois defenders of the "free" development of unions need lecture us, nor liquidators of nationalization or reactionary antilabor groups which broke up the ROH before February [1948] and also in 1968 in order to split up the unity of the working class.

Trade Union Freedoms and Rights

Our trade union independence is also reflected in the right of workers of associate in unions in accordance with union statutes without any other restrictions, to organize meeting, convention and discussion activity, elect their officials according to the principles of internal union democracy, to pass binding resolutions and carry them out according to the principles of democratic centralism. At the same time the requirements of the international conventions of the ILO, No 87, on trade union independence and the protection of union rights, and convention No 98 on the right of organizing and collective bargaining, are not only respected but considerably surpassed and are guaranteed in the Czechoslovak constitution by Law No 37/1959 of SBIRKA, by labor code No 74/1973 of SBIRKA and by other legal norms.

How hypocritical are the accusations of lack of union rights here on the part of reactionary pretenders and revisionist elements in the countries of the west when these countries either did not even ratify the cited conventions or activity of progressive union leaders is carried out there with persecution and terror. Minimal union rights there are connected with state monopoly supervision, with forced anti-union sanctions, violent methods and the suppression of any manifestation directed against the interests of capital and bourgeois supremacy. The prohibition of trade union activity in factories

and the bloody suppression of union actions, the firing of union officials, the vindictive persecution of progressive trade unionists are all too clear violations of human rights under capitalism which cannot be obliterated by even the thickest veneer of so-called bourgeois humanism nor by the most strident vilification of socialism.

In contrast to this, the ROH, thanks to the policy of the CPCZ, is assured, through our legislation, of such democratic rights, trade union independence and legal authority that it can develop its function in society, production and public administration uniformly and in a balanced way, assert the participation of workers in management and control and have a unique mission in carrying out the social policy of the party. Trade union democracy in socialism makes it possible to develop and secure, to control and implement the socialist working rights of laborers and other workers. And so the system is a guarantee of work legislation as provided by the state, supplemented and empowered by trade union cooperation.

The ROH cannot move only within the confines of internal organization but must assert itself in the whole life and work of the laboring class in the basic organizations. Accordingly, the unions fully and without exception supported the line prescribed by the 15th CPCZ Congress and specifically enunciated plans of activity for the 9th All Trade Union Congress in all basic organizations.

As non-party organizations, the trade unions fulfill a political mission which consists of implementing the economic and social program of the party which exclusively serves the life interests of the workers and thus also carries out the purpose of organizing the masses in unions with the aim of expressing, securing and protecting the material and social interests of the workers.

In the initial stage of preparations for the 9th All Union Congress, 25,700 plant committees were elected whose members, by secret democratic ballot, became a quarter of a million functionaries. The union organs thus are provided with political-legal benefits and enjoy the full confidence of 6.5 million members. Also the course and conclusions of okres and kraj union conferences as well as okres union-wide conferences in recent weeks confirmed that the trade union movement can expand, because it is based on the policy of the party and that it draws its strength for carrying out its tasks from the authority of the party among the masses.

The unique position of trade unions makes their direct influence on socialist worker relations politically indispensable and finds a specific reflection in the structure of legal rights and responsibilities of trade unions. Union relations thus established with managing economic organs and the state apparatus correspond to society-wide interests and the interests of individual workers and are legally binding.

Our unions have such an important right as participation in the formation of laws and other legal regulations. Proposed laws and other legal regulations concerning important interests of workers, especially economic, production, working, wage, health, social and cultural conditions, must be negotiated by federal central organs with the Central Trade Union Council or by central organs of the republics with the Czech and Slovak trade union council. Provisions of regulations concerning working rights of central organs which are issued on the basis of appropriate enabling legislation may be issued only in agreement with the appropriate trade union organ. Officials of ROH--deputies of the legislative committee--can assert, as has already occurred several times, legislative initiative in the Federal Assembly. These are all persuasive trumps in the actual participation of trade unions in executing policy which knock the counterfeit cards out of the hands of revisionist and anti-democratic disparagers of our system. Trade union organizations and their officials in capitalist countries do not have, nor cannot have, even a modicum of such opportunities and authority.

Worker's Rights of the Working Class in Socialism

Our socialist society not only promoted human rights among the inalienable principles of socialist humanism, for which the communist movement raised the flag ever since its inception, but it gave these human rights abundant meaning and buttressed them with a system of real guarantees and safeguards and assures their protection by all possible means. As a matter of fact it assured citizens the right to a decent life in peace, freed of exploitation, and constitutionally anchored the right of all rights--the right to work. In practice it implements the right to compensation for work according to its quantity, quality and social significance, the assurance of safety and health protection on the job and rest and recreation after work. It safeguards workers in case of inability to work because of illness, accident, pregnancy or maternity, in case of disability and in old age, all within the scope of social security which is among the highest in the world. All workers are assured of social equality and equality of their personal worth and the same opportunities for access to education and cultural enjoyment in accordance with their abilities and interests.

The trade unions, as representative organizations, enter all work-rights relations and the legal code expressly provides for the participation of ROH in work relations as an integral part. In practice, this provides for the participation of people in the development, management and administration of enterprises and the implementation of cooperation, collaboration, joint decision-making and controls carried out by plant committees of the ROH. The leadership of the party, headed by Comrade Gustav Husak, in the development of labor policy from the 14th CPCZ Congress, prescribed the line for further intensification and extension of the rights of workers as well as authorization of unions. This has been seen in further improvements in the welfare of workers, in employment of women and mothers, in the comprehensive concept of enterprise social policy, in the gradual improvement of factory food

service, in the extension of the shape of collective agreements, in the introduction of democratic arbitration of workers' disputes, in the extension of social controls in the application of labor legislation in plants as well as improvements in the pension system.

Social control of ROH over safety and health protection, carried out with the help of over 20,000 labor safety commissions and 85,000 safety inspectors, contributed to the reduction of the job accident rate by 21 percent in the last 10 years. In addition, compensation for work-related injuries and occupational diseases was increased and the system is among the most advanced. Compared with the year 1968, amounts paid by reason of indemnity have not increased by 30 percent, while the absolute number of work-related injuries is constantly declining.

Through their organs in plants the trade unions also determine the benefits for health insurance which this year represented altogether Kcs 18.5 billion and also optional recreation. The fact that the ROH basic organizations decide on disbursements from the fund for cultural and social needs--of which almost Kcs 18 billion was spent in the course of the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the benefit of the workers--attests to the profound democratism practiced in the rights of workers' collectives which can, in fact, influence the course of enterprise social policies.

In questions concerning the closer needs and workers' interests of the collectives and individuals the plant committees are allowed to join in the decisions with management. This involves jurisdiction in all important provisions in the area of material interests and work compensation, in concern about working conditions and the application of work-rights regulations. Plant committees join in decisions, especially about the issuance or changes of working regulations, about dismissals or sudden cancellation of employment on the part of the organization and in other important cases. In all these instances the organization management can take the intended action only after prior agreement with the plant committee, otherwise it is legally void. This involves far-reaching influence on the management of workers' collectives which would be unthinkable under capitalist conditions.

Another indication of the democratic rights of trade unions here is the institution of the system of arbitrating labor disputes through organs of the basic ROH organizations--the arbitration commissions. Over 4,000 of these commissions, in which some 30,000 ROH activists work, significantly contribute to the settlement of work rights problems directly on the spot where they originate, in plants and places of work.

Rights in the Interests of Workers' Concerns

Currently during preparations for the 9th All Trade Union Congress the level of social responsibility of plant committees and all basic organizations is growing. Together with the expansion of economic activity there is growing

social activity directed particularly toward meeting and controlling the commitments of collective agreements and the comprehensive programs of concerns for workers. By preparing, accepting and approving these comprehensive programs the concerns of workers are attaining a purposeful, imaginative and realistic basis which is also supported by voluntary brigade work within the framework of the operation "Trade Unionists to their Plants and the Republic" on the occasion of the 9th All Trade Union Congress and in honor of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution.

In the present period of congress preparations the efforts of unions are also being activated to limit the number of hazardous jobs and places of work, to observe weight limits in work performed by women and to make of the forthcoming public testing of work safety in the month of April a mass method of improving and humanizing the working environment. This is also connected with the stimulating recommendations and provisions of trade unions to institute food service for the second and third shifts as well as further expansion of plant food services. There still are, however, considerable reserves in the opportunities of plants, trade union organizations and collectives to help meet the needs of kindergartens and nursery schools and to expand self-help in enterprise and cooperative construction. Plant committees also must play an effective role in jointly creating an atmosphere of challenge and inflexibility regarding laxness in work discipline, because the growth of responsibility, quality of work and political-expert qualifications of people also are an integral part of socially comprehensive concerns of enterprises, devoid of unilateral dimensions. Only thus can the contribution of unions in the area of social policy and universal concern for workers be meaningful and be on a par with the demands of the times as prescribed in the 15th CPCZ Congress.

The course of the annual member meetings of basic organizations and conferences of trade union organs in okreses and krajs confirm the prevailing good balance-sheet of union work between the 8th and 9th All Trade Union Congresses, in which, however, we do not cover up any deficiencies and formality in work. The results achieved form a springboard for the further development of the participation of workers in management and administration as an indicator of the intensification of socialist democracy. If these meetings and conferences resulted in a significant attempt to overcome deficiencies with greater resolution then it is necessary to make sure that this growing tendency is not only maintained but also further developed.

8491

CSO: 2400

PROGRESS WITH CSR GYPSIES CLAIMED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 9, 2 Mar 77 pp 10-11

[Article by Vaclav Sebor: "The Long Road"]

[Text] "In the ninth grade everyone of us realizes that he is leaving and thus entering a different life. Therefore, our thanks belong to those who all these long years devoted themselves to us, sacrificed for us and helped us in most difficult times and understood us as a mother understands her child, a father his son and a bitch her puppy..."

The words from anonymous composition in a school which we used in the introduction were written by a Gypsy girl barely 15 years old. She wanted to thank her teachers and other adults with these words. Those, who are opening the gate to life....

The examination room of the Hall of Culture in Ostrov nad Ohri resounds with the chords of penetrating voices with shrill coloration, full of natural temperament. A group of gypsy children during a test. I watch them carefully and ponder what we call the "Gypsy question."

Only Through Action Can One Be Convinced

The people of Ostrov took the first steps already in the sixties. At that time there was a deputy, Dr Lubomira Kostova, presently deputy chairwoman of the ONV [Okres National Committee] in Karlovy Vary and the chairwoman of the district commission for solving the problems of the Gypsy population.

"We decided to give most of the new apartments to citizens of Gypsy origin. It aroused a stormy response; there was a shortage of apartments and the citizens criticized our decision as thoughtless. But today I am of the opinion that this first step was a good one. It was the first precondition for success of an action which we call integration--the attempt to amalgamate the Gypsy population with the rest. But it really was only the first step, nothing else."

I bid farewell to the deputy chairwoman and half an hour later I am being invited for a discussion with a group in the City National Committee at Ostrov nad Ohri who have made dozens of further steps over the long years on the difficult road to this goal: Josef Kadlec, the chairman of the City National Committee; Marie Kasalova, chief of educational and cultural section, social affairs and public health; Jindra Romova, a worker in the section and a member of the commission for solving the questions of the Gypsy population and also Vladislav Stika, chairwoman of this commission.

The burden of the task does not rest upon them only, but also on other members of the commission. The beginnings of their work? They were not at all easy. At that time there still existed in Ostrov the so-called Rom Federation, whose goals were not in agreement with conclusions of the governmental decision on the Gypsy question from 1972. Unrealistic demands were made at the meetings of this federation. The members of the commission tried to penetrate the organizational structure of this organization and after its liquidation they utilized the activity of the members for gradual enforcement of real and practical, useful measures. Tiresome everyday work began, filled with dozens of visits to Gypsy families. After thorough investigation of the situation came the first social measures: help and official steps, according to what the situation required. The Gypsy children were preferentially placed in kindergartens; the monitoring of regular school attendance began. Some families received essential social assistance; for others, on the other hand, it was necessary to take away family allowances and food, and providing clothing for children out of these family allowances was taken care by the social workers of the National Committee.

In short, from the official aspect, everything began working as well as possible. But is it sufficient for the goals which our society has set?

This question was asked also by the citizens of Ostrov. They agreed to arrange various activities, especially for the Gypsy children. Perhaps, that will offer the most realistic possibility of finding the way for the majority of the citizens of Gypsy origin. Namely, distrust in the city predominated among them. The door for understanding remained closed.

What kind of people are they really? What do we know about them? First of all, the children. At elementary school number 1. Here the teacher, Stanislav Chury, gives me the anonymous composition by a Gypsy girl. He probably knows why he is doing it, because from those few lines I understood more than from long hours of persuasion. Even these children, if we make the attempt, can grow into sincere, upright, gifted and diligent people.

As a good-bye Stanislav Chury says: "Only through action can we convince and re-educate. They are very susceptible to guidance, sanction and official interventions. Therefore, it was necessary to look for a way besides the necessary official approach that was direct and inconspicuous in its goals."

An Idea From a Trip

There were two initiators of the idea to establish the group of Gypsy children: Hana Ouhelova, a kindergarten teacher, and Vladimir Novotny, a worker in the Hall of Culture in Ostrov. Both are musically oriented; Vladimir Novotny is, in addition, a music composer. But because no idea really comes by itself, it all really began with a trip to Prague, which the City National Committee arranged in the summer of 1977. Its participants, Gypsy children, supposedly behaved well in Prague. However, when they went to a restaurant for dinner the waiter began to protest, and if it had not been for their chaperons, he probably would not have allowed them to sit at the tables. In the end everything quieted down and the surprised waiter was serving a truly exemplary group of children. This unpleasant event luckily did not spoil the good spirit--they all went to the Prague Zoo together. And on this trip, where the harmonica of Vladimir Novotny helped to fill the long trip there and back, the idea to form a children's group was born.

Namely, en route the Gypsy children proved to sing so well and with such a verve that they convinced all their chaperons of the validity of the idea. All that remained was--to begin.

And it began. A condition for membership was, above all, discipline. But naturally also attendance--regular school and group attendance. They rehearsed 4 months before they dared their first public performance.

The result was surprising: the audience was enthusiastic. And, thereafter, one can talk only about a series of successes. However, it is not artistic talent only that the founders of the group set as their goal.... "For years the group has given girls (presently there is not a single boy in the group) the possibility to use their free time," Vladimir Novotny informed me. "The young Gypsies are perfecting themselves here in what they have a natural inclination for--singing and dancing. It intensifies the feeling of self-confidence so much needed by them. Up to now in most Gypsy families no tradition of lifestyle has existed, not even interest by parents in the results of schooling; the children are learning this as part of the activity of the group. They meet many people at the public performances, they learn to understand the reality of life. Naturally, the physical training itself in the practice of the dance numbers has a good influence on physical development of the children. And, finally, the group fulfills an educational function in that we fittingly and often quite by chance inconspicuously include in the schedule, for example, the preparation of a conversation, the showing of films. Certainly, not even reality is neglected since with our performances we are presenting the Gypsy youth in the best light in the eyes of the citizens. In pre-election period alone we managed a total of six performances in 3 weeks in Ostrov and neighboring communities. We cast the Gypsy children together with the group of children from elementary school number 1. The result was pleasant. The children were confident of and liked each other; they invited each other for visits with their families, etc.

"In 5 years, about 50 girls and boys have come into the group. I can say that the majority of them have made a good adjustment to life and it certainly was not by chance."

The Question Mark Is Getting Smaller

"Without learning there is no work
and without work one cannot live,
the hands are sore, the head aches
but song must resound.
We want to sing until the sun in the sky
stops and asks the Earth curiously
why is she so happy today?"

They finished the sonnet and their eyes shine with happiness. No public is in attendance except the small group of comrades from the City National Committee who brought me here. But the children understand that the faint applause coming from only a few palms is sincere.

Then we ring without any notice at several doors. They are opened with sincere invitation. The apartments are clean and modern. The life of Gypsy families in Ostrov is changing radically. It is not only regarding cleanliness and accommodations. The secret lies in their whole way of life. Of course, there are still families whose adult portion has not grasped the meaning. Families which with typical Gypsy solidarity support loafers without realizing that they are preparing the surest path to conflict with the law.

There are families here in which each paycheck turns into a quantity of alcohol, which is even offered to small children. And then they turn to the national committee and its workers with humble request for support and help.

But the road has been opened to almost all families. To one family at a time when the father, known to all as a bitter and unapproachable man, cried with emotion without any inhibition at the solo performance of his daughter at the concert by the Gypsy group.

The group is naturally only one of the ways for solving the Gypsy question. Many girls have attended courses in sewing and cooking who did not settle only with their original commitment. The enthusiastic girls have brought their experience to their families. They were able to talk to their mothers about the price of material, work, nutrition and wise housekeeping, which has nothing in common with wild shopping sprees in which the alcohol dominates. At the same time, the girls got acquainted with the principles of hygiene, for the first time they learned about the responsibilities of the married life and they got their first lessons for future motherhood.

Somewhere inside I still have that vivacious melody, one of many from the texts of Stanislav Chury, who composes for the group:

"Through the dust the canvas covered wagon go,
I see them in my memories,
The hopelessness, the misery they drag with them..."

This song from their repertoire is called "The Long Road." Yes, it is a long road--but a happy road. No society other than our socialist one could guide its citizens of Gypsy origin to such prospective goals. In the capitalist countries they ostentatiously brag about the peak of democracy when they reserve a camp somewhere in the suburbs and even build a primitive one-classroom school with planks.

Our Gypsies today do not know poverty, they do not know the nomadic way of life. Everywhere they live they are finding help from people who have chosen the uneasy but beautiful task of accompanying them on that long road.

9043
CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

SED'S HONECKER SENDS BIRTHDAY GREETINGS TO KIM IL-SONG

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Apr 77 p 1 AU

[Text] To Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers Party [KWP] Central Committee and president of the DPRK, Pyongyang.

Very esteemed Comrade Kim Il-song: I convey to you on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the state council and the People of the GDR, as well as in my own name, cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings on your 65th birthday.

The communists and all working people of the GDR know and value you as a loyal son and outstanding representative of the Korean people who from his earliest youth has devoted all his strength to the interests of his people, to peace and social progress.

I would like to convey to you our appreciation for the contribution which you have always made to the development and deepening of the friendly relations between the SED and the KWP, between the GDR and the DPRK, and between our peoples. The GDR people are sincerely pleased about the major successes the people of the DPRK, under the proven leadership of the KWP and based on the solidaristic aid of the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, have achieved in transforming the country into a socialist industrial state with a developed agriculture within a historically brief period.

We reaffirm the determination of the GDR to lend solidaristic support also in the future to the Korean people's just struggle for securing lasting peace on the Korean peninsula, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea and for their legitimate national interests.

The SED and all GDR working people are firmly convinced that the friendly relations and the cooperation between both our parties, states and peoples on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism will develop further and deepen in the interests of peace and socialism.

I wish you, very esteemed Comrade Kim Il-song, from the bottom of my heart health and further successes in your work for the benefit of the Korean people and for the triumph of our common cause of socialism and communism.

With communist greetings,

[signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SED CC GREETINGS TO FIFTH SEW CONGRESS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Apr 77 p 1 AU

[Text] To the delegations of the Fifth SEW Congress:

Dear Comrades: The SED Central Committee conveys to the delegates of the Fifth Party Congress and all members and friends of the SEW its fraternal militant greetings.

Your party congress is being held in the year of the 60th jubilee of the Red October. The Great October Socialist Revolution initiated a new epoch in the history of mankind in which your indefatigable struggle for the cause of the workers class, of peace and social progress occupies an important place.

We, the communists of the GDR know very well how persistently the SEW is advocating the social and democratic rights of the working people, how consistently it is acting for the strict observance and full application of the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, for peace and detente. We highly appreciate your deeply internationalist attitude, your ties with the country of Lenin and our socialist GDR and your great efforts to spread the truth about real socialism.

All the more the SED Central Committee gives you the assurance: In the spirit of the decisions of its Ninth Party Congress our party will continue to do everything it can for the strengthening of the first German worker-peasant state, thus making its contribution to the further change of the international balance of forces in favor of social progress, and for increasing the attractive and radiating force of the new human system of socialism. In accordance with the spirit of socialism we are firmly resolved to further improve the material and cultural living standard of our country's working people, to strengthen our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and to continue to contribute also in the future to the strengthening of international detente, and to the development of such relations with West Berlin as in accordance with the aims of the quadripartite agreement, serve peace, European security and the people.

Dear comrades: On the secure soil of Marxism-Leninism, close friendly relations have existed for a long time between the SED and the SEW. They have proven themselves in the best way and you can rest assured that we will continue also in the future to do everything we can for strengthening of the friendship and fraternal cooperation of our parties.

The SED Central Committee wishes your party congress a good course and the SEW successes in implementing its decisions.

With socialist greetings,

[signed] The SED Central Committee, E. Honecker, general secretary.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

GDR LEADERS GREET KAMPUCHEAN COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16-17 Apr 77 p 1 AU

[Text] To His Excellency Dr Khieu Samphan, chairman of the state presidium of Democratic Kampuchea; His Excellency Pol Pot, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Democratic Kampuchea; His Excellency Nuon Chea, chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Assembly of Democratic Kampuchea; Phnom Penh.

On the occasion of the national holiday of Democratic Kampuchea we convey to you and the Cambodian people cordial congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the state council, the Council of Ministers, the People's Chamber and the people of the GDR.

The GDR people follow with great attention the efforts the Cambodian people are making to overcome the consequences of the war and to rebuild their homeland.

The GDR is linked in solidarity with the struggle of the people of democratic Kampuchea for peace, democracy and social progress.

We are convinced that the relations between the GDR and Democratic Kampuchea will successfully develop for the benefit of both our peoples.

[signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

[signed] Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers;

[signed] Horst Sindermann, chairman of the GDR People's Chamber.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

GDR LEADERS CONGRATULATE SYRIAN COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16-17 Apr 77 p 1 AU

[Text] To Comrade Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic [SAR], secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party; Comrade Abd 'al-Rahman Khulayfawi, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the SAR, Damascus.

On the occasion of the national holiday of the SAR, the 31st anniversary of the withdrawal of the last foreign troops from Syrian territory, we convey to you and the friendly Syrian people the cordial congratulations of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the people of the GDR.

In the future, too, the GDR will continue its consistent policy of firm solidarity with all anti-imperialist forces and will support all constructive efforts to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict in the interests of peace and progress.

We are certain that the anti-imperialist solidarity and the close and fruitful cooperation for the benefit of our friendly states and peoples will be successfully further developed and deepened.

Accept our friendly greetings and the best wishes for your personal well-being and the flourishing of the SAR people.

[signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

[signed] Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

GDR'S ROESEL SAYS WEST'S MBFR POSITION IGNORES REALITY

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Issue No 16, 1977 p 5 AU

[Article by Dr Fritz Roesel, FDGB presidium member and secretary of the FDGB federal executive: "For Progress at the Vienna Talks"]

[Excerpt] The topic of the [Vienna] talks is the mutual reduction of armed forces and arms. Here, too, what matters is compliance with the agreements concerned. He who seeks to disregard a single definition is seeking to gain unilateral advantages for himself.

If, for example, the Western side argues--simplified--that a forces reduction automatically includes an arms reduction, then this does not correspond with the facts in view of modern arms technology. The idea and the intentions to set up new military alliances, for example in the framework of the West European community, contradict the mandate of the negotiations, and one has to note with regret that anti-Soviet theses--such as that of the "Soviet danger" or of the gigantic military superiority of the community of socialist states--and intensified ideological attacks on the socialist countries frequently exert a negative influence on the negotiations.

Constructive Socialist Proposals

Little headway is being made at the negotiations, although the socialist states have pointed out a broad range of possibilities for achieving mutually acceptable agreements on the basis of the initiatives of the socialist states. Thus the February 1976 proposals on a reduction plan contain concrete possibilities for such an agreement. The official data on the numerical strength of their ground and air forces in the reduction area, submitted by the socialist countries, have provided a good starting position. It should be noted that the NATO states tabled their figures only at the last session of 1976. Ever since, well-informed quarters have been saying that now one can no longer speak of any serious disparity. All the idle talk about the great military superiority of the countries of the community of socialist states is aimed at putting off the conclusion of an agreement as long as possible. Lastly, there is the proposal to freeze the troop strength

of the armed forces of all direct participants for the duration of the talks. This, too, would be a suitable path to an agreement. The opportunities for a businesslike dialog have so far not been seized by the Western participants, although as early as in 1973 principles and goals for the forces reduction were agreed on which must now be implemented.

Unrealistic Attitude of the Western Powers

The Western states are openly contradicting the agreed negotiating principles. This applies to the refusal of six of the seven Western participants to commit themselves to effecting a reduction. Only the United States has so far declared its readiness for this. However, only an equivalent contribution by all participants in accordance with the size of their armed forces can bring a result that guarantees every country its unimpaired security. Those who have refused to make a contribution of their own include the FRG, which has the largest military potential of NATO in central Europe. It cannot be in the interests of the European peoples to leave the strength of the Bundeswehr untouched. The attitude of the Western participants aims at creating a superiority for NATO, especially for the Bundeswehr.

In the interest of the peoples of Europe--not only of the socialist countries--which have had their experiences with German imperialism, this cannot be accepted. The Western side ignores the proof of the equilibrium of strength between the NATO and the Warsaw Pact forces in central Europe and raises the demand that the Soviet Union effect reductions several times larger than those of the United States. At the same time, it proceeds again and again from the premise that the Soviet Union should reduce whole troop units while the United States merely wants to reduce individual personnel.

This, too, is an attitude that does not correspond with the realities. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has constantly submitted proposals designed to make the Vienna negotiations a genuine step of detente and of strengthening peace in central Europe.

This realization has increasingly asserted itself among the representatives of the European public after they have had the opportunity to speak with the representatives of the Western side and the ambassadors of the socialist states.

The representatives of the socialist states have expressed their high appreciation of the activity of the International Committee for European Security and Cooperation. The European public will continue to follow the negotiations in Vienna with great interest.

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

GASPAR VIEWS SOCIALIST COMPETITION IN HUNGARIAN CONTEXT

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Apr 77 p 3 LD .

[Article by Sandor Gaspar, member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee: "Developing the Initiative of the Masses"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] On 4 April is the 32d anniversary of Hungary's liberation from the Hitlerite yoke. In fulfilling their historic mission, the Hungarian working class, under their party's leadership, have achieved remarkable successes over those years. The article published below gives an account of the movement of socialist labor teams and of the scale of the competition for successful implementation of the tasks of building developed socialism.

Budapest--One of the most important principles which determine the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and the life of our state is internationalism and fraternal relations with the Soviet Union. Our party will never alter this line--whether it be a question of economic relations, foreign policy, or the education of the working people.

In the thoughts and feelings of the Hungarian working class, relations with the Soviet Union are identified with our socialist essence, with our well-being and with the present and future of our people.

The present year is the year of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. Impressive successes have been achieved over the last six decades in building a socialist and communist society, and vivid new pages have been inscribed in the history of proletarian struggle and solidarity. In greeting the festival along with the Soviet people, the Hungarian working people, including the working people of Csepel, have decided to mark the October jubilee with high indicators in their work and with the fulfillment of Soviet orders ahead of schedule. "We wish you success, dear friends, and we wish success for your glorious initiative which expresses the best traditions of socialist internationalism and which augments the fruits of the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the socialist countries," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, wrote to the Csepel workers. This letter evoked new enthusiasm and inspiration among the workers of the cities and villages.

Life proves indisputably that a developed socialist society can be successfully built only through effective, rational economic management, using the most up-to-date scientific and technical achievements. The present aims of socialist competition are to raise production efficiency and to commission hidden reserves. These objectives are defined by our party as central goals.

In almost all enterprises the No. 1 task is to create a modern production structure and to turn out top-quality items. This is vitally important for the Hungarian national economy, 50 percent of whose national income is derived through foreign trade. The appeal of red Csepel for ahead-of-schedule deliveries to the Soviet Union is extraordinarily topical precisely for this reason. The production of high-quality items and their systematic delivery to fraternal countries is the internationalist obligation of the labor collectives.

One of the requirements of efficiency is the resolute improvement of activity in the sphere of capital investment and the reduction of the time taken for the realization of this investment. Labor competition at construction sites has begun to be based on socialist contracts which are concluded among various collectives directly responsible for the commissioning of projects. Successful processes are coordinated, the rhythmic nature of deliveries is improved and cooperation links are consolidated.

At the first stages of building socialism a practice took shape here whereby economic leaders, as a rule, did not engage in socialist competition--this was the trade union committees' sphere of activity. In 1972 the MSZMP Central Committee adopted a special decision on the development of socialist competition. "The management and organization of labor competition ought to be considered an inalienable part of production management and labor organization," the decision observed. Our party has made it incumbent upon the economic leaders, in addition to studying production questions, to engage directly in insuring favorable conditions for the development of competition, and for its further boosting and improvement.

When assessing the results of the work of any particular enterprise, it is necessary also to take into consideration the overall atmosphere which has developed in the collective, and the development of democracy on the spot, concern for the training of cadres, and social and everyday measures. It is our firm conviction that a marble plaque cannot be fixed to the facade of any enterprise to indicate that this is an advanced enterprise--whatever superb economic results may have been achieved--if concern about the working man is not constantly displayed at that enterprise. Competition unites within itself the initiative and spiritual aspirations of the working people, planning goals and bold enterprise, the conscious application of scientific and technical achievements, and a feeling of duty and responsibility. Under such a concept of the term, labor competition is a factor which has a positive influence on economic growth. This is not a temporary but a permanent and essential factor in building a new society.

But a different interpretation is sometimes encountered. Competition is regarded as a transitional feature which characterizes a definite period of building socialism. A series of formal and bureaucratic distortions arises out of this erroneous concept. In certain sectors of production such indicators as the need to adhere to production methods, to work without producing any defects and so forth--that is, indications which form part of the worker's duties as laid down in his job description and for whose fulfillment the worker is paid his wages--are included in the pledges of those engaged in competition.

In our life the most favorable conditions have been created for further progress toward the scheduled goals. At the same time this requires that we make a constant, careful and bold analysis of the state of affairs. Always seeking what is new, better and more expedient means operating in a Leninist spirit. And we are operating in a Leninist manner when we seek to insure that all forms of socialist competition gain strength and develop.

The shaping of a working man distinguished by his all-around education, high degree of skill and social, collective mode of thinking is continuing in a persistent and consistent struggle. We have firm faith in its success.

CSO: 1800

HUNGARY

LEGAL ASPECTS OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS EXAMINED

Budapest VILAGOSSAG in Hungarian No 3, Mar 77 pp 129-133

[Article by Andor Csizmadia: "Bilateral Agreements--Legal Regulation of Relations of State and Churches"]

[Text] When the time of the liberation came to Hungary they called the link which legally regulated relations between the state and the churches the coordination system of accepted churches. The churches and religious sects occupied three positions in this system. At the highest level were the accepted churches: the Roman Catholics of Latin, Greek or Armenian rite, the Reformed Church, the Evangelical Church, the Unitarians and the Greek Orthodox. Several religious denominations, such as the Mohammedans and the Baptists, were in the less advantageous legal position of recognized churches. One of the fascist laws, 1942:X. tc., removed the Israelite sect from its previous position as an accepted religious denomination and degraded it to a recognized denomination. At the lowest level were the "sects" such as the Methodists, the soldiers of the Salvation Army, the Adventists, the Jehovah's Witnesses or the Nazarenes, the latter of whom could not be ranked higher as a recognized religious denomination because its articles of faith were in opposition to the dogmatic laws of the state.

The accepted religions enjoyed from the state everything which came in this age from gratitude for the supporters of the ideology; they were virtually built into the state mechanism. They were guaranteed self-government, they were permitted to collect church taxes, they were granted brachium saeculare [secular arm] to collect them and so they were as obligatory as state taxes; and state power was provided to enforce their disciplinary decisions. State and communal aid was extended to them, paying for the teachers of the faith and providing material support for their schools. The so-called recognized denominations which remained outside the coordination of accepted religions, and even less the unrecognized sects, had no such state support while those outside any denomination, in addition to various moral and political sanctions, were even punished in a material way in that those who left a church had to pay the church taxes to their former denomination for 5 years after leaving. It must also be noted that the equality among the accepted

religions was realized in only a legal sense because the inclusion of the Catholics in the state mechanism as the state religion and the economic power resting on 2 million yokes of estates at the end of the century gave the Catholic Church the preeminent position among the accepted religions too. The characteristic difference between the recognized religions and the sects was that while the recognized religions could in general conduct their operations without any special *vegzatura*[?] the sects were under police regulations and had to report even their religious meetings to the police authorities. Those under 18 years of age were not permitted to participate in the religious meetings of the sects because up to the age of 18 everyone had to belong to an accepted or recognized religious denomination.¹

The democratic development after the liberation had the task of ending, before all else, the inequality among the denominations, breaking down the legal walls separating them and realizing in regard to religious freedom and the legal equality of the denominations the bourgeois democratic demands which the revolutionaries of 1848 had stressed but the realization of which had slipped by in the Hungary of dualism and the Horthy system. At the same time there had to be movement toward another bourgeois democratic demand, the separation of state and church, which the liberals of the reform age, including Ferenc Deak and Jozsef Eotvos, had emphasized but the realization of which could not be expected from the regimes of Kalman Tisza or Istvan Bethlen. Thus, in the course of the democratic transformation after the liberation they first invalidated all those laws which had put any disadvantages on the Israelite sect and those belonging to the denominations (1946: XXVI. tc.) since freedom of religion was included in the preamble to 1946: I. tc. which changed the form of the state into a republic. Even the Paris peace treaty, which became a law, abolished all distinctions in regard to the equality of the denominations and this was soon guaranteed to all religions by a special law (1947: XXXII. tc.) which ended all distinctions which could create discrimination among the former accepted, recognized or any other denomination. This abolition of legal distinction was supported economically by the land reform carried out in 1945 which affected the nearly one million yokes of income and endowment lands of the Catholic Church remaining in 1935 after the Trianon losses and the Nagyatad land reform, the lands of the Catholic schools, the nearly 100,000 cadastral yokes of the Reformed Church, the 21,000 of the Evangelical Church, the 3,400 of the Greek Orthodox Church and the 1,200 cadastral yokes of the Israelite sect. Nor should we forget that the church estates were strongly capitalized and cooperated with enterprises, an advantage which they also lost with the nationalization of the enterprises. The abolition of discrimination and the liquidation of economic privileges was followed by the statement in Section 54 of the Constitution according to which: "The Hungarian People's Republic guarantees the freedom of conscience of its citizens and the right of the free practice of religion." At the same time the Constitution contained a guarantee of these rights: "In the interest of freedom of conscience the church is separated from the state" (Section 53). These rights and guarantees were set down at a time when, one year earlier, Law 33, 1948 had ensured the separation of church and school, in close interdependence with the separation of state and church, and when this was being carried out.

After the statements in principle of the Constitution the state abolished the inclusion of the churches in the state mechanism. At the same time the recognition of freedom of religion made it necessary for the state to sign agreements with the churches having larger numbers of believers to regulate relations of church and state in which the churches recognized the state order of the Hungarian People's Republic and announced that they would participate in the work of state construction and in the movement for peace. At the same time the government guaranteed complete religious freedom and defined the sphere for free functioning of church life (holding religious services, making religious instruction possible in state schools, charity work and the operation of a church press). It recognized the self-government activity of the churches within the frameworks and methods within which this activity was regulated by church laws approved by the state. For a transitional period, which lasts still today, the state offers personnel and substantive aid partly to support pastors (salaries and pensions) and partly to maintain churches and church buildings. In addition the state exempted from nationalization the secondary schools of some churches needed to train pastors and ensured the free functioning of higher level pastor training.

The first agreements were in 1948 with the Reformed Church, the Unitarians,² the Evangelical Church,³ and the Israelite sect⁴ but the Catholic Church delayed signing an agreement--partly due to its hierarchic structure and partly because of the hostile stand taken by its leaders in regard to building a people's democratic country. Only when the functioning of the religious orders was limited or, in part, abolished did the Bench of Bishops prove ready to sign an agreement with the state after the example of the other churches. In essence the agreement contained provisions identical to the agreements with the other churches but there were several defects. For example, the government was not able to realize its position in connection with appointing church officials. According to the provisions of Catholic Church law such international agreements are reserved to the Pope. Thus, for a long time, there was doubt as to whether the Bench of Bishops could sign an agreement without Rome. Thus, partly due to formal problems and partly due to substantive defects, the agreement could not be regarded as final but in any case the ice had been broken, discussions were under way and the state and the Bench of Bishops established a parity committee to create a *modus vivendi* in the remaining open questions and care for execution of the agreement. The formal differences among the agreements are also indicated by the fact that while the agreements with the earlier mentioned churches were published by the government in the official paper, in the October-December 1948 issues of *MAGYAR KOZLONY*, the agreement with the Catholic Bench of Bishops never appeared. In any case the agreement ended the sharpest problems--the Church took a stand in regard to maintaining public order and constitutional loyalty while the state guaranteed personal and substantive aid. This system represented the minimal program of normalization.

But since there was no uniform agreement in one of the most important questions of state sovereignty, in regard to prior approval by the state in filling church positions, Law Decree No 20 1951, passed by the Presidential Council of

the People's Republic on 4 July 1951, announced retroactive to 1 January 1946 that archbishops, titular archbishops, bishops, assistant bishops, archabbots and chiefs of religious orders could be appointed only with the prior approval of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic. It was further stipulated that these provisions would remain in effect until there was a bilateral agreement on filling offices. Thus the Hungarian state agreed in principle with the signing of a bilateral agreement.

So we can see that agreements between the state and the churches came into being in Hungary at two different times and in two different ways. Agreements were born earlier and in a way still valid between the state and the Protestant churches and the Israelite sect while the agreement with the Catholic Church came into being later and without the approval of the Holy See. Thus there was need to renew and supplement in an appropriate form the latter agreement. But we must also note that in essence the agreements were observed on both sides; the state regularly provided the personal and substantive aid and the churches made use of this aid.⁵

Following the agreements the most important state act in state and church relations was Law Decree 22, 1957 promulgated on 24 March 1957, "Concerning the State Approval Needed To Fill Certain Church Positions," which now required prior state approval to fill transfer or relieve various positions of not only the Catholic Church but also of other churches and denominations. Prior approval by the Presidential Council of the People's Republic became necessary for appointments, commissions, transfers and removals belonging to the sphere of authority of the Pope in the Catholic Church and for filling or vacating positions of bishops, church district superintendents and general or church district supervisors in the Reformed and Evangelical churches and presidents, vice presidents and chairmen positions in the two rabbinical councils of the National Office of Hungarian Israelites while the prior approval of the Minister of Cultural Affairs was needed to fill lower offices. With the exception of the Catholic Church the execution of this law decree ran into no difficulties. Two years later government decree 18/1959 set down further guarantees for the realization of the sovereign rights of the state. It authorized the organs with the appropriate authority to take the necessary steps to guarantee continuity if the appropriate church organ had not acted to fill vacated offices within a definite time (e.g., these organs often took the initiative to appoint capitular vicars, without assuming to themselves the right of appointment). The government decree also regulated the method of taking the oath by appointed church officials.

The uniform view of Law Decree 22, 1957, the spirit of equality among churches and denominations and the agreements proposed in Section 3 of the law decree provided a foundation for further normalization of contacts with the churches and denominations.⁶

In the interest of this talks were begun with the Vatican as a result of which came the 15 September 1964 Agreement. This agreement can be regarded as a detailed agreement between the Holy See and the Hungarian state.

The agreement put an end to the procedural church law obstacles which had existed because it was signed by representatives of the Vatican as well as church organs representing in this case the Hungarian Catholic Church. Even if the agreement could not be regarded as a concordat or convention it did represent a *modus vivendi* because it settled a series of questions in which there could not have been an agreement earlier. Thus the Vatican, which had earlier protested against Law Decree 22, 1957, took cognizance of the Hungarian legal position concerning the necessity of prior state approval of appointments as a fact. In addition a number of questions were cleared up. For example, up to then the Papal Collegium had occupied a floor of the Hungarian Institute in Rome and dissident priests had gotten hold of this and the Italian authorities were not inclined to release the Collegium building to the Hungarian representative organs without settling the question with the Vatican. In the course of the agreement the Vatican recognized the Hungarian state rights concerning the Collegium and made arrangements that in the future the disputed floor should become the home of a papal collegium which respected the sovereignty of the Hungarian state.⁷

Several appointments which had taken place with prior state approval were included in the agreement. Only one of these was an archbishop appointment. The others could not be regarded as a final solution because there had been three titular bishop and two assistant bishop appointments but the ice had been broken and apostolic administrators took the place of the completely temporary capitular vicars in the Hungarian church dioceses. The year 1964 was a milestone and thereafter agreements came every year or two in regard to filling various chief clerical offices, culminating most recently in the appointment of Lalszlo Lekai as archbishop and primate of Esztergom after which he was granted a cardinal's hat by Rome. At this time chief diocese clerics sit in almost all of the Hungarian dioceses and thanks to agreements between Rome and the Hungarian state assistant bishops are available to carry out the tasks of the chief clerics too.

Significant in the contacts between the state and the churches were those church statements which expressed a readiness for further cooperation in the spirit of the agreements in the area of agreements which had expired in the meantime. Thus, on the basis of a proposal by the chairman of the State Church Affairs Office, the Hungarian government decided to continue the state aid in the spirit of the agreements and to regard the agreements as a good basis for developing contacts with the churches. So new agreements have not come into being but rather the continuing validity of the earlier agreements has been announced by both church and state.

There was a further development of these relations with the execution of Government Decree 23/1971. This decree pointed out that agreements with the churches regulated the filling of positions in connection with the large churches. It stated further that establishing a method for approval for the other churches was in the sphere of authority of the chairman of the State Church Affairs Office. On the basis of this authorization the chairman of

the State Church Affairs Office issued his regulation number 1, 1971. According to this prior state approval must be requested only for the appointment of leading church officials in the case of the smaller churches and the churches belonging to the Council of Free Churches in Hungary--most of which had been called sects in the past. In the case of lower positions only a church notification is needed and if the chairman of the Office makes no comment in 15 days then the appointment must be considered recognized.

Agreements were also concluded with the large churches in regard to the state approval needed for appointments. The protocol with the churches (Catholic, Reformed, Evangelical and Israelite) notes that in harmony with the development of our society during the past 15 years the relations of the Hungarian state and the churches have improved further. The results achieved justify and make possible an adjustment of the methods of agreement contained in Law Decree Number 22, 1957. Accordingly the prior approval of the Presidential Council is needed only when filling the most important positions. For lower positions prior approval need not be requested but the filling of them must be reported. If the chairman of the Church Affairs Office makes no comment within 15 days of the report this must be regarded as tacit recognition. But those newly appointed do have an obligation to take the prescribed state oath.

I would like to note in addition those basic principles which the socialist countries have developed in state and church relations and the practice which exists in these countries in this relationship. On the occasion of the Eighth International Congress of Comparative Law the contributions of the Hungarian delegation included Professor Otto Bihari's comparative study titled "Relations Between State and Church in the Socialist Countries" and my own account of Hungarian development up to the liberation titled "The Development of Legal Relations Between State and Church in Hungary." On the basis of what was said there I would like to provide a glimpse of the similar practice of the socialist countries.

An adjustment of relations between state and church came up in the various socialist countries under most different historical conditions. But the final form of the solution in all socialist states was the separation of state and church and the separation of churches and schools by means of unilateral state action, on the basis of sovereignty, possibly supplemented by bilateral agreements. As Professor Bihari pointed out the socialist states always based their action, and they rest on this today too, on the basis of a consistent legal theory in this regard, that is on the priority of state sovereignty as opposed to all external power.

The historically first unilateral legal act of the socialist states was the 20 January 1918 decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic "Concerning Freedom of Conscience and Concerning Church and Religious Communities." This regulation stated as a basic principle that "the churches are separated from the state" and it abolished the privileges of the various churches and religious orders.

It emphasized that citizens could not appeal to their religious convictions to neglect their responsibilities. The recording of marriages and births became the right of civil authorities. The decree also separated the schools from the churches. This decree was particularized and supplemented by administrative rules with the publication on 8 April 1929 of a provision, since then frequently modified, by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.⁸

But we can note special aspects of the development beginning especially with the creation of the people's democratic states after the Second World War. As a result of the stormy historical changes the solutions offered and recommended by the states beginning the construction of socialism could not be understood or followed by everyone or by the organs of every religion. Naturally the forms here differed country by country but finally they were directed everywhere toward the separation of state and church with suitable guarantees for all.

It would lead us very far afield to try to follow this development in the constitutions, laws and practices of the individual countries. But in every case we can see that common trait which we noted in connection with the Hungarian development, that relations developed on the principles of the separation of state and church and of the equality among religions and on the basis of guaranteeing state sovereignty. The various groups of citizens of the socialist states desired and desire the regulation of these contacts on the basis of their convictions and the state organs have taken the necessary steps in this direction. In Hungary and in the other socialist countries too the legal theory of these relations has been supplemented by a variant of contractual theory which, while emphasizing the maintaining of sovereign rights, takes cognizance of the fact that the most expedient way of adjusting relations is to sign agreements or possibly concordats. The church or denomination organs signing the agreements are representatives of a group of Hungarian citizens (the members of the given church or denomination) regardless of whether the church or denomination is organized on a national basis or in some other way.

The regulation of relations between socialist states and the churches constitutes a significant new element in the constitutional law of the various states and in the church law of the various churches and denominations.

Comrade Janos Kadar stated in one of his speeches to the National Assembly that a relationship has developed under socialist conditions between the state and the churches which can solve the problems which come up, "honoring the laws and legal order of the state" from the side of the church and "taking into consideration the internal laws and legal order of the church" from the side of the state. Taking into consideration and not compromising the ideological differences all this develops a modus vivendi for preserving the peace within the state and for cooperation in building a socialist homeland.⁹

FOOTNOTES

1. See Andor Dzizmadia: "The Development and Practice of Legal Relations Between the Hungarian State and the Churches in the Horthy Period," Budapest, 1966 and L'ETAT ET L'EGLISE EN HONGRIE, CONSCIENCE ET LIBERTE, No 10, 1975, pp 90-98.
2. MAGYAR KOZLONY, 9 Oct 48.
3. MAGYAR KOZLONY, 16 Dec 48.
4. MAGYAR KOZLONY, 10 Dec 48.
5. See Otto Bihari: "Les Relations Entre L'Etat et Les Eglises Dans Les Pays Socialistes" in the volume "Droit Hongrois--Droit Compare" edited by Zoltan Peteri, Budapest, 1970, pp 259-274.
6. See I. Ballo: "Die Religionsfreiheit in Ungarn," GEWISSEN UND FREIHEIT, Spring 1974, No 2, pp 55-57.
7. An official announcement concerning the agreement appeared in the daily papers.
8. The 23 January 1918 Soviet Decree: "Istoriya Sovetskoy Konstitutsii 1917-1956," Moscow, No 50, 1957, pp 109-110.
9. A speech given at the 21 March 1963 session of the National Assembly.

8984

CSO: 2500

POLAND

SUPPORT OF INTELLECTUALS NEEDED TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL GOALS

Warsaw NASZA TRYBUNA in Polish 4-6 Feb 77 pp 1, 4

[Article by Jerzy Kochanski: "Expectations From the Intelligentsia"]

[Text] It is frequently said that the work of production establishments and agriculture will be decisive for the success of the current decade--in other words, the effort of the working class and farmers. This is true; however, there is an additional social class which also exerts a vital influence on the many-sided transformations--and that is the intelligentsia. It is precisely in its hands that we find a varied assortment of instruments that influence the course of Polish affairs, beginning with the shaping of human minds and ending with the shaping of the level of technology and culture.

In conformity with the general provisions of social development, the Resolution of the Seventh PZPR Conference addresses itself in several places to the Polish intelligentsia, emphasizing the role and significance of teachers--the educators of the young generation, engineers and technicians--the officers of material production, and scholars and builders of culture in a socialist state. When the Sixth Congress in 1971 and the Seventh Congress in 1975 announced "That from the standpoint of a patriotic obligation and out of a responsibility for raising the standard of living, we must decisively speed up our national *raison d'etre*," it directed its program as much to the working class as the intelligentsia. Little wonder that all of society is observing closely the intelligentsia's input into the common national task, fully aware of the tasks of the working class, farmers and other social groups. There is but one truth: The common effort of all Poles will predetermine the realization of national goals without regard to the nature of work.

Under New Circumstances

The problem of the role of the intelligentsia in the socialist system recurred more than once in the works of Marxist theorists as being extremely vital. The same thing occurred on Polish territory. Today, however, it is known beyond a shadow of doubt that the intelligentsia does not play a

secondary role, and that its participation in the creation of national and intellectual values makes it a key ally of the working class. It is essential here to emphasize that when the Polish scientific-technical revolution was still in the period of theoretical digression the problem did not present itself so sharply. Today, in the 1970's, the situation has changed for many reasons. First, the very nature of work relative to the development of our technical base, the modernization and expansion of industry and transportation, and the systematic changes taking place in agricultural production has altered swiftly and radically. To fulfill its social mission, the working class must have at its disposal an ever keener knowledge and higher qualifications. In brief, having the technology in hand it must know how to use it. Thus the responsibility for transmitting knowledge, professional preparation, and making the result of its work available to the working class rests with the Polish intelligentsia without regard to specialization. Teachers should transmit knowledge; scientists, discoveries; designers, inventions; managers, work organization models; economists, clear economic goals beginning with microgoals; and creators in branches of the humanities, works that enrich the national culture, humanist values and works which, cultivating the richest values of the working class, would universalize them as nationwide values. Those who in their polemic fervors do not appreciate the results of the mutual ties of the working class and the intelligentsia and those who attribute absolute primacy to the intelligentsia are equally mistaken. So are those who attribute a secondary role to today's intelligentsia.

Here we have come to the heart of the entire problem.

Every attempt by the intelligentsia to oppose the working class needs to be seen as an attempt to weaken our national aspirations and eventually dis-mantle the entire framework of the program of acceleration. Attempts to do this are being undertaken with foreign inspiration and on behalf of foreign interests, something that TRYBUNA LUDU wrote about on 13 January [1977]. Unity of thought and action as a condition for success is precisely what is needed now: thinking in social, national and state categories. Thinking as to how to act, how to work so that the country will grow in material and moral strength, because only then will a program of prosperity for all citizens, all social classes and all families be feasible. It is not necessary to add that this is a requirement of the highest patriotic order, nor that without unity at the basis of goals and everyday work will it be possible to assure success in the current decade.

In considering the various aspects of today's situation it is also necessary to emphasize the following vital circumstance.

We are implementing an ever more ambitious but also ever more expensive program. Expenditures for all programs have risen fantastically because progress likewise is more expensive. What is involved is having the vast billions of zlotys earned through hard work and expended on new investments, new factories, modern technology, outfitting work organizations and making

them tolerable for workers, on increasing efficiency, on education, science, rest and recreation, as well as on organizing the infrastructure of daily life to pay off as quickly and plentifully as possible with higher pay for work, and a plentitude of material and spiritual goods.

The working class has furnished proof more than once of its patriotic attitude. In the present situation the role of the intelligentsia must be looked at from the standpoint of the working class attitude, because its input into the national balance counts more and more and will be increasing. Because of these factors we must guard the unity of the working class and the intelligentsia, and strengthen their mutual ties as well as oppose all attempts to weaken this unity.

Of Worker Origin

On festive occasions, we usually emphasize two facts. First, that during the course of social transformations the origin of the intelligentsia has changed basically. The other, that together with the growth of the general level of education the size of the intelligentsia has increased.

Both of these facts are proof of one additional great postwar attainment: namely, in the course of a short period an intelligentsia has been formed which consists of a predominance of members of worker or peasant origin, an intelligentsia that emerged straight from production establishments, cottages, or worker and peasant families. This was the result of the democratic system of education based on observing the fundamental law of equal starting opportunities. To its class the intelligentsia contributed an awareness of the working and peasant classes as well as the traditions, way of thinking, and attitudes toward work, the state and the program of socialist changes. What is currently becoming one of the important problems involves the nurturing of these associations with the paternal lineage; also insuring that the meaning of this origin in the awareness of the intelligentsia does not weaken with the passage of time or that what distinguishes the intelligentsia from the working class does not boil down exclusively to the nature of work.

This "origin" point places the modern Polish intelligentsia in a new light and a new social situation. In the nature of things it is interested in realizing the goals of the working class on a par with the working class. Hence, our expectations that without losing contact with its origin and bearing in mind to whom it owes its progress, the intelligentsia will bring new values to national work. The eyes of all of society, which is aware of the period in which we are living, are turned to the intelligentsia's work and attitude.

I would like to conclude these comments with a statement: Every member of society has equal duties toward it, be he a professor doctor habilitatus, number one foundryman, engineer, construction worker, writer, tractor driver, poet, welder, actor or miner. Also, our social expectations are

identical. At the same time, however, caution is in order. Let us have no illusions. Not all are as one man "for" and not all vote for that "for" with an identical patriotic attitude. Some, forgetting their origin, garb themselves in feathers of well-wishing reformers or impressionable consciences. That is why we have to know that the struggle for the unity of thought and action on the basis of national goals has not ended altogether. It continues and will continue because we will have to contend with various types of problems for a long time. This struggle for unity of action cannot be discontinued because resignation from it would only weaken the tempo of the march.

10433
CSO: 2600

POLAND

'DIE WELT' ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN POLAND

Bonn DIE WELT in German 18 Apr 77 p 6 DW

[Article signed-Zel]

[Text] After proper preparation, Warsaw is pulling the loop tighter in finishing off the opposition in that country. Human rights fighters and advocates are being arrested, regime critics "unmasked," church authorities threatened and an increasing number of those that dare to demand more democracy in Poland is being intimidated with evil compulsory measures.

There exist several reasons why the ruling Communist Party was hesitant for a relatively long time in handling their critics with Draconic severity. It knew that cheap Western credits would be jeopardized if Poland were to apply Stalinist measures, and also the CSCE Follow-Up Conference in Belgrade is in the offing.

But if Warsaw is pulling the reins shorter and hitting hard, this is happening for two reasons: Moscow, Prague and particularly East Berlin in their handling of human rights advocates cannot tolerate the existence of a Polish "oasis" having a moderate freedom of movement. They have suggested to Warsaw that it take compulsory measures against the opposition.

The Gierek regime also noted that the number of domestic opponents has grown dangerously, and that their moral weight within the population has increased considerably. The communist party felt that the basis of its power was being brought into question. It responded with repressive measures based on the official slogan: "Those opposing socialism irreversibly will sink to anti-Polish positions and hurt the interests of the people and of the country." In this way the advocates of human rights are being persecuted and called traitors of the country.

CSO: 2300

POLAND

GIEREK SAID TO WANT NEW COURSE IN POLAND

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 19/20 Mar 77 p 4

[Article by O.K." "Gierek's Efforts for a New Course"]

[Text] On Poland's restless political stage new acts are being played which indicate Gierek's role as director. Now that, as it appears, he has survived the most difficult stage of the crisis and has been able to avert the danger of new social policy explosions through flexible tactics, he is now trying to steer a new course. The prerequisites for this were created in the last 2 months by changes in the party and state hierarchy and by a careful policy which is based on concessions toward the opposition outside the party. Gierek outlined the new course in late February during a conversation lasting several hours with leading journalists from the whole country. His party's ideological apparatus, which continues to be dominated by "hawks" and dogmatists, first spread distorted information on this. This led to tension between the party boss and the functionaries who were responsible. Finally Gierek had the party central organ TRYBUNA LUDU publish an entire page summary of his statements and of the discussion which give a new picture of the situation, especially the goals of the party first secretary.

Relaxation and Reforms

Gierek's political strategy for solving the crisis of confidence and re-establishing a consensus between his regime and the nation was first shown in fragmentary form in his speech at the Ursus plant in early February. Now this strategy has been extended with new, concrete elements. There is a conspicuous effort to pacify the workers, to eliminate the peasants' fear of socialist experiments in agriculture, to end the conflict with the Catholic bishops through words of reconciliation and readiness to resume the dialog and not to administer any reprisals against the civil rights movement. At the same time Gierek shifts the quarrel to a reckoning with the neostalinist dogmatists, or as they are called in the party jargon, the "thick heads" in the party, state, administrative, and economic bureaucracy. Presumably some things will be heard of this in the coming months,

especially in agricultural policy, and church and cultural matters, but also with regard to internal party organizations in the enterprises, the technical ministries, and the provincial administrations. Gierek spoke angrily of economic management by cliques, of parochial interest groups, swindling and sabotage of his concepts of the modernization of Poland.

Muffling the Campaign Against Bonn

But before the first steps against the targeted opponents got under way, a campaign against the FRG broke out which obviously did not have Gierek's blessing. His plea before the Polish journalists contained nothing critical of Bonn. The protest demonstrations and mass meetings were presumably unleashed by a strategem. But by his silence Gierek disassociated himself from it. On the other hand, he cannot spectacularly denounce those responsible in this matter which is so delicate for Polish patriots. But as a countermove, the Polish communists who are regarded as "doves" arranged an interview with FRG Chancellor Schmidt which was given to the editor-in-chief of POLITYKA, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, on the day when the campaign against the Federal Republic of Germany began in Poland. The interview appeared on Thursday of this week and made a sensation. Schmidt expresses his satisfaction with the process of normalization in the mutual relations and advocated the expansion of the exchange of political opinions, mutual visits, deepening of economic ties, and cultural rapprochement. He suggested that a German-Polish forum should be created and especially advocated an increase in youth exchanges. The question is only whether Gierek and those of his people interested in an undisturbed relationship to Bonn will succeed in settling the confusion which has arisen in Poland without causing any more damage.

How Will Moscow React?

Another act which represents an important component of Gierek's new strategy is playing in Moscow. Gierek sent a Politburo member, the former foreign minister Stefan Olszowski, to Brezhnev. This was an important mission for several reasons. Olszowski is not unknown at the Kremlin, but he is now advocating the removal of government affairs from the hands of the worn out and compromised man trusted by Moscow, Jaroszewicz. And since the Soviet patrons of the present Polish premier appear still to have not decided on the long due change in power, presumably much depends on what kind of impress Olszowski left in the Kremlin this time. In addition, the talks at the Kremlin were aimed at convincing the Soviet leadership of the absolute necessity of the introduction of a new course in Poland, since Gierek must also take into consideration that many functionaries in the Soviet Union, but even more in the GDR and in the CSSR, distrust his concepts and may complain to Brezhnev about them.

CSO: 2300

OBJECTIVES OF YOUNG PEOPLES' UNIVERSITY OF JOURNALISM DESCRIBED

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish 9 Jan 77 p 18

[Interview with Henryk Urbanowski, secretary of the All-Polish Council of Universities of Journalism, by Jan Mankowski; date and place not given]

[Text] Our regular readers have noticed that for some time WALKA MLODYCH publishes items signed with three letters: MWD. What is the Young People's University of Journalism? (that is what MWD stands for) we asked Henryk Urbanowski of the Press and Propaganda Department of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] Central Committee who is secretary of the All-Polish Council of Universities of Journalism.

Henryk Urbanowski: It would be better to say what it should be. Generally, it should be a school for the youth propaganda aktiv. It should be a school which would permit our activists to absorb more knowledge about the current sociopolitical problems, about the theory and practice of modern propaganda and about the principles of modern mass media operation. We want the university graduate to be a conscious reader of the press, a radio listener and television viewer. We want him to be able better to use the mass media in his social work in the youth organization.

WALKA MLODYCH: Is MWD a new initiative?

HU: But already firmly planted. Permanent. The universities of journalism have not appeared out of nowhere. The social base is provided by the several thousand young people who edit newspapers, bulletins, papers published for special occasions and closed circuit radio shows in schools, colleges, places of employment, the army and youth clubs. To date we have provided systematic training for about 7,000 youth activists. As usual, the beginnings were difficult. It took 3 years to work out the concept and to test in practice the accepted programmatic and organizational assumptions. Primarily we profited from the experience of student journalism clubs and of the first University of Journalism attached to the International Press and Book Club in Rzeszow, which was created on the initiative of the editors of the youth magazine PROMETEJ. The offensive took place a year ago, and now we have an MWD in each voivodship. I have to admit that from the very

beginning the idea of a university of journalism received significant support, and we were provided the means to operate with a margin for growth. I have in mind the multifaceted help of the party authorities, the Council on Higher Schools Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch publishing organization, the Youth Publishing Agency, the Polish Journalists Association and journalistic circles in Warsaw and the provinces. For instance, the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Polish Journalists Association discussed the activities of the Universities of Journalism and passed a resolution directing its regional authorities and editorial boards to extend their help to the MWD's. This help consists mainly in journalists' participation in university symposia, conducting seminars and opening up newspapers to articles written by community correspondents. Our joint achievement is our success in assembling into one group the propaganda aktiv of the whole voivodship representing all sections of youth and improving its quality systematically.

WM: You stated twice emphatically that the MWD is the school for the propaganda aktiv. Does it not narrow such a school's objectives to call it the University of Journalism?

HU: It only seems so. The name was chosen because it sounds good and is attractive. But these were not the only reasons. Is it not true that nowadays the journalistic format dominates all other types of propaganda activity? We remember the other types too. Finally, one of the objectives of the University of Journalism is to help young men follow the path to the profession of journalism.

WM: Is this going to be a path replacing the existing obligatory formal path?

HU: Not at all! We do not intend to bring in anybody through the back door. Our task is to fully support the existing system, i.e. the appropriate professional studies. The universities of journalism can perform the role of a sifter to find the diamonds. Through participation in their activities one can learn about the profession of journalism at close quarters without actually working in that profession, and one can consider all the pros and cons before making a decision to become a journalist. In this way we can enlighten the candidates for the journalistic studies. Finally--let us fact it--the majority of MWD members are people who have already chosen their life careers and professional status. They belong to the organized amateur journalism movement because it gives them pleasure and because it provides certain benefits of a different kind: they can test their capabilities in that field.

WM: And what are the benefits of the universities of journalism for youth organizations?

HU: I have mentioned some already. Here I would like to concentrate on one matter. Thanks to the good work done by the universities of journalism, we can have a more mature aktiv having an important qualification: the ability to communicate thoughts, the knowledge of correct usage of the Polish

language and, something which is not taught in school, the skill to use the appropriate communication medium. Permit me to refer to the history of the youth movement. After all, the group that edited the first issues of the WALKA MŁODYCH grew into a huge youth organization. In the fifties, close to half the articles published in the youth newspapers were items written by the Polish Youth Union aktiv, community correspondents. Today, we have a numerous, well-educated journalistic cadre and space for amateurs cannot be found everywhere. But instead we have many activists who have basic problems with writing reports and briefings and who are often rather helpless during discussions at meetings.

WM: So, to write one's own pieces is one of the forms of participation in the work of the University of Journalism. What are the other forms of work?

HU: Practice must accompany the learning of theory. The All-Polish Council of the MWD's and the individual universities of journalism made several efforts to provide to our young "journalists" the opportunities to publish their work in professional newspapers which gives an opportunity to test one's skills.

The provincial press often uses the materials provided by amateurs. Since April 1976, SZTANDAR MŁODYCH has had a daily section for MWD members' articles. The steady improvement of the quality of that material testifies to our initial successes. Last year, the universities of journalism published 13 special articles.

The proven MWD working method is mainly the meeting of a few members during which social, political, economic and ideological matters as well as propaganda techniques and types of journalism are discussed. The writing efforts of the university members are discussed and evaluated while still hot. The seminars are conducted by the PZPR Voivodship Committee lecturers, local journalists, press specialists and well-known columnists. Often the universities of journalism organize for their own benefit and for others, meetings with persons who are currently in the center of interest of public opinion. If you add to this the reporter rounds, educational workshop camps and training periods in editorial offices, you can say we have developed a sizeable number of educational aids and methods.

WM: Indeed, there are many. Is every university of journalism able to accomplish such a large task? What university could be considered good?

HU: First, it must be open. It must be open to initiatives and innovations, open to all who are interested, even if they do not belong to any youth organization. In the recent competition, we selected the MWD in Przemyśl as the best. It is one of the few that do not limit themselves to their own matters. Many of its activities were directed to the outside: it organized several community affairs.

WM: Does the simultaneous participation of high school students, working youth and college students create problems?

HU: Yes, but only seldom--for instance, at the camps. There is a confrontation among the differing life styles of individual social and age groups. The universities of journalism, however, accomplish the qualitative integration of the youth. In every group, the intelligent and thoughtful persons represent a similar level of aspirations. We provide them an opportunity to get to know each other and exchange experiences. To the younger ones we offer a chance to profit from the experience of the older.

WM: In such a large and new social movement there must be more problems and issues which have not been solved. What are they? What future tasks do they pose?

HU: Every social movement has its better and worse periods. We have noticed that some universities of journalism started well and then began to die. This is normal. We must, however, react to such phenomena; we must aim at systematic work. Another thing--we do not have any experience with the work in closed circuit radio and with the young men who work in amateur movie-making. The principal task of the All-Polish Council of the MWD's will be to continue to create conditions for the development of the community journalistic movement. In particular, we will assure a greater number of vocational training jobs in the press and radio editorial offices. We will work on attractive programs for the workshop camps. Also, we will introduce a few competitions for the members of the universities of journalism whose objective will be to reward and locate talented propagandists.

8801

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

COMMUNIST WRITERS RESOLVED TO FIGHT 'UNTRUTHS, SLANDERS'

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 14 Apr 77 p 2

["Literary Life: The General Meeting of the Party Organization of the Writers Union"]

[Text] On 8 April 1977, in the "M. Sadoveanu" Writers House in Bucharest, there was a general meeting of the party organization of the Writers Union devoted to establishing the mandate for the Communists who will participate in the general meeting of the Bucharest Writers Association and the National Writers Conference.

The report was presented by Ion Hobana, secretary of the party committee of the Union.

The following took part in the discussions: Grigore Arbore, Agatha Bacovia, Liviu Bratoloveanu, Radu Carneci, Nicolae Dragos, Traian Iancu, Eugen Jebel-eanu, Toma George Maiorescu, Felicia Marinca, Damian Necula, Cornel Omescu, Al. Oprea, and Platon Pardau.

Both the report and the words of the participants stressed the desire of the party member writers to participate actively in the good preparation and development of the proceedings of the National Writers Conference, in order to transform this manifestation into a forum for the powerful affirmation of the desire of all creators of literature, Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, and those of other nationalities to assure the implementation of the cultural policy of our party, to stimulate literary creation by means of works of high value, with rich idea content and educational power.

In their comments, the participants in the discussions said that the program adopted by the 11th party Congress, the documents of the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, the program of measures adopted by the Central Committee Plenum of November 1976, the recent report of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the joint session of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party, the Grand National Assembly, the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development, and the central party and state activ, and the guidelines by the secretary general of the party represent for the writers the most

certain guidelines in the construction of a socialist culture, in the development of national art and literature, and represent the political-ideological platform which will serve as a basis for the development of the proceedings of the National Conference...

The speakers recalled the words of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in connection with the heroic labor of workers in Romania during the difficult moments after the 4 March 1977 earthquake:

"In this is seen," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said on this occasion," the result of the political-educational activity of the party and of the literary-artistic creation of all those who, by their writing and by their work, have contributed to the formation of the wonderful characteristics of the new man, the builder of socialism and of Communism and to the cultivation of the new humanism which gives primary emphasis to man, his well-being, freedom, and happiness."

Emphasis was placed on the fact that the writers are carrying on their activity in a fertile climate, a climate of discussion and solution, in a democratic spirit, of all the problems of creation and of community problems and this has resulted in the appearance of valuable works with an important role in the formation of the socialist awareness of workers, in the cultivation of progressive moral characteristics and of the ideals of revolutionary humanism. It was pointed out that Communist writers and all writers are conscious of the social and patriotic responsibility of their activity and that they are determined not to spare any effort to create new works which will reflect, in an inspired way, the realities of the present, the life and aspirations of the workers, the spiritual wealth of our people engaged in the vast action of building socialism on the soil of the country.

The discussions and the resolution of the meeting of Communist writers strongly emphasized the need for a critical and self-critical view of the entire activity of creation and for a comprehensive analysis, during which there would be a discussion of the shortcomings which have come to light in the activity of the writers, along with a presentation of the positive aspects of this activity. The speakers stressed the need for strengthening the militant, party-minded spirit of literary criticism, for increasing its objectivity in the broad, generous promotion of authentic values and in combatting mediocrity and unprincipled polemics, with a firm response being given to sterile gropings, concepts foreign to socialist revolutionary humanism and also to false ideas about our literature, expressed outside the borders of the country.

In the speech of the participants and in the resolution adopted at the meeting, it was stressed that the writers of our country are firmly resolved to respond with maximum strength to any assault against our peaceful labor on the part of circles which use the pages of publications and radio broadcasts to utter untruths and slanders against everything which is taking place in Romania today.

The participants in the discussions stated that they are firmly resolved to show revolutionary intransigence towards all those who attempt to falsify the achievements of our socialist society, to distort the truth about our socialist homeland and her people, using the name of writer, which they do not honor by their talent or by morality.

During the meeting, the communist writers resolved that, from the tribune of the National Writers Conference, they would make resound with force the pledge of all creators in Romania to produce works which would respond to the spiritual demands of our society, at the height of socialist construction.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

ROMANIANS ATTACK HUNGARIAN ETHNOLOGICAL WORK

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Jan 77 pp 156-159

[Review by Cristina Bulgaru of the book "Kosa Laszlo, Filep Antal, A magyar nep taj tortente tagolodasa" [The Historical-Zonal Division of the Hungarian People] by Kosa Laszlo and Filep Antal, Budapest, Akademiai Kiado, 1975, 230 pages]

[Text] This work, with its pronounced ethnological character, written not so much in a general context but more precisely as a broad introductory study, is a working instrument not only for the ethnologists but also for the Romanian and Hungarian historians. From the very beginning, we must point out that we are speaking of a piece of research that directly considers the ethnological-historical development of the Hungarian people as it took place within the framework of different traditional geographic zones. It also discusses how, in the course of history, ethnological processes and phenomena unfolded in a geographical area that was larger than the current borders of the Hungarian People's Republic, how the territorial division of different Hungarian populations brings forward new data and how this contributes to the understanding of their evolution and development within the framework of other populations, such as the Slovaks, Croats, Serbians and Romanians. At this point, we finally arrive at the part that interests us the most in the book by Kosa Laszlo and Filep Antal: the historical and ethnological problems regarding one of the coinhabiting minorities in our country--the Hungarians.

The introductory study together with the main part of this work, conceived as an historical-geographical and ethnological dictionary, make a contribution in putting into discussion certain problems raised by such an interdisciplinary piece of research, such as defining and explaining certain notations and traditional zonal names created, in the majority of cases, during the Middle Ages. As Kosa Laszlo himself admits in the introduction which bears his signature, that throughout this book he kept in mind the following objective: the book offers a framework, a guide and a basis necessary in certain future research projects.

Without a doubt this dictionary, structured by articles of variable dimensions, has to its merit, first of all, a description of the ethnological

zones, with the greatest attention, in a geographical, linguistic and historical connection, given to the development of the history of the people together with its particular nature. And, it would appear to us that this is the only appropriate way of producing such a work since historical fate, the socioeconomic situation and the zonal and provincial geographic and linguistic environment molded, in different times, the makeup of the Hungarian people.

It is a well-known fact that man has always worked and continues to work upon the environment around him and, in return, the environment forms and modifies man. For this reason, in our opinion, not only ethnology but also history are confronted at every step with the problem of existing ties between the environment and culture.

The differences which show up in the regional character and culture of the people are firmly alive to an equal degree in the collective awareness of historical and popular traditions. We cannot ignore the fact that each zone and group has its own poet and writer which have made known the weaker or stronger nature of the characteristic geographical and ethnological unity in the national awareness.

In this work, the authors operate using three fundamental ethnological categories: ethnological or ethnic groups, ethnocultural groups and zonal groups which constitute an important part of the material included in the dictionary.

The ethnological groups include two subtypes: the first characterized by a self-definition as a result of a confrontation with the environment by way of its own awareness of "new" things, solidarity and common origins (for example: we are Szecklers, you are not a Szeckler, you are something else). To this, first of all, is added the historical background of territorial isolation and awareness of the origins of foreign peoples: Cumanians, Iasians, and so forth, and especially the privileges obtained as social status. These last items ensured a strong sense of cohesion for the Szecklers, outlaws, Cumanians and, in the majority of cases, survived certain formal elements and phenomena: their own names, internal laws of an administrative and moral nature, customs and their own ideology (for the Szecklers the awareness of the Hun origins, for the Cumanians the reawakening of their awareness in the 18th century in close relation with their recovery of their old freedoms).

These factors thus strongly influenced the identity, endogamy and affiliation to these respective ethnic groups, consequently making it difficult to acquire new members to the group.

Within the framework of the second subtype, were included those groups which did not have their awareness of "us," but were distinguished, in the majority of cases, by the nicknames generated by prejudicial backgrounds based either in differences of religion or presumed origins or upon linguistic isolation: Polocians (Paloc), Chiangains, and so forth.

It is interesting to point out the fact that these ethnological groups deny the existence of a solidarity stemming not from the reason of their principle of independence, but due to the stigma that the respective nickname represents. The difference between these two types is found in the fact that in the differentiation of these groups there is just as soon used subjective criteria than concrete criteria of a normal historical nature.

Without underestimating the place and importance of the introductory study in the writing of this work, we must point out that the original and unpublished portion of the book is the so-called dictionary which covers the regional and traditional historical names of certain ethnic groups.

The existence of certain homonymous phenomena is due to the process of creating these respective names on the basis of certain general geographical notions such as woods, plains, mountains or names of rivers: the Danube, the Tiza to which were added a series of determinants. The result of these linguistic phenomena, those names which are of interest to us and which have, as a result, entered into historical geography, is that it is difficult to find a corresponding term in the Romanian translation, such as, for example, Erdohat (beyond the forest), Erdoalja (edge of the forest), Hegyalatt (below the mountain), Hegyalja (edge of the mountains) and so forth.

It is precisely the existence of such difficulties in the translation and explanation of such terms that leads us to insist upon the need to develop historical geography and, as a consequence, upon the need to create some specialists in the field.

And, without a doubt it is only through the geographic definition of many of the zones having the same name will we have the one method of establishing the specific difference which exists between them.

Thus, the term "Erdohat" was used during the ages for designating five distinct zones in Transylvania and Hungary. Besides the lands in Hungary between the stream Gortva and Hangony, to the south of the course of the Sajo and Rima rivers and the area bounded by the Tiza and the Somes rivers, all the other zones belong to Transylvania. Therefore, we are dealing with a zone corresponding to the region between Bega and Mures, containing the important centers of Timisoara and Lipova, with another zone, also called Erdohat, which represents the territories in Hunedoara County between the Poiana Rusca Mountains and the Cerna River Valley, and then with a plains area bounded by the course of the Black Cris River and the White Cris.

It is also interesting in the case of the geographic boundaries made in the old name Sovidek (the land of the Sarians) designating a portion of the region inhabited also by the Szecklers and located in the lands between Small Tirnava and Corund River valleys where the cities Sarateni, Sovata, Praid, Ocna de Jos and Ocna de Sus, Corund and Atia are located.

If the majority of the names of the traditional zones refer to the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic, there are, however, in the dictionary an important number of articles which designate territories found in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. It is a natural fact that our attention be drawn, first of all, to the presentation and delimitation of those zones in our country as well as the historical demographic phenomena brought out in the discussion. As we pointed out above, we are talking about a work belonging to certain Hungarian historians who deny the continuity of the Romanian people in Transylvania and the Banat. It is regrettable that in 1975, the result of some original and fruitful research projects, such as the book under review, should not keep in mind the basic studies undertaken in Romanian historiography on the basis of certain new archeological and toponimic and linguistic arguments presented by C. Daicoviciu and E. Petrovici in "The History of Romania," Volume I, Bucharest, 1960, pp 782-792, and in the book "From the History of Transylvania," Bucharest, 1960, pp 14-58 which demonstrate the aboriginal Romanian element in Transylvania. And furthermore, in 1971, Stefan Metes' book appeared, "Romanian Emigrations from Transylvania in the XIII-XX Centuries," the result of historical demographic research.

The appearance of a significant number of explicative articles, regarding certain historical and traditional names belonging to some zones in Transylvania, in which historical demographic problems are discussed, allows us to reconstitute the concept of the authors concerning the presence of the Romanian people. It does not differ to a great degree from that of the Hungarian historians according to whom the Romanians settled in Transylvania after the arrival of the Hungarians in the 10th-13th centuries. Thus, in the article, Transylvania (Erdely) is settled by the Hungarians in the 10th century when they arrive and meet a sparse Slavo-Bulgarian population and the Romanians appear only in the 12th-13th centuries (pp 88-89), living in the mountains in the region of Bihor, Hunedoara and Fagaras. And there is more. In the opinion of Kosa and Filep, some of the areas in Transylvania, such as Ciuc, were completely uninhabited (teljesen lakatlan) and a type of deserted land where the Hungarians settled (p 80).

One of the things that forms a general and characteristic trend in the articles referring to these zones in Romania is the lack of any mention, with some small exceptions (sporadic references to a Slavo-Bulgarian population), of the presence of an aboriginal element. Thus, nearly the entire area of Transylvania would have been an uninhabited land which was awaiting the arrival of the Hungarians. The authors maintain that the Romanians appear, at the earliest, in certain areas during the XIII century, areas such as Tara Birsei (p 66) and in the region of Bihor (p 71), not to mention that certain areas were "settled" in the XIV century (Borod, p 68), in the XV century (the White Cris Valley, p 93, the Zarand region or in the region of Timisoara, p 80) and in the XVI century in the lands to the east of Oradea (p 115).

Only by listing some of these examples do we realize that the authors deny the presence of the aboriginal Romanian element in Transylvania and that they are supporters of the theory of Romanian immigration. The authors, however, do not say where the Romanians came from and they extend this process of immigration from the XII and XIII century until the end of the Middle Ages.

They claim, for example, that the Romanians "immigrated" and settled in the region of Tirgu Mures at the end of the Middle Ages.

It is in the face of this theory, which runs counter to all the research carried out to date and to the truth of history, that we have the duty to show that Romanians have always lived in Transylvania. The Romanian people were formed, lived, and worked uninterrupted in this region, with their first pursuit being agriculture.

We believe it would be opportune for the supporters of this theory of immigration not to systematically ignore the studies published in the magazine DACO-ROMANIA in 1933, or in the REVUE DE TRANSYLVANIE from 1934, or the works of R. Vuia, "Le Village Roumain de Transylvanie" and those of C. Daicoviciu in "La Transylvanie dans l'antiquite," Bucharest, 1945, not to mention the more recent research which we mentioned above.

To counter the erroneous data introduced in very many of the articles in this dictionary, we must point out that the Hungarians found a Romanian population in Transylvania together with a very thin trace of a declining Slav population. The Hungarians encountered a very stiff resistance put up by the aboriginal inhabitants and only after an interval of two to three centuries of continuous fighting did they succeed in arriving at the Brasov Carpathians.

The comparative studies carried out by a number of objective specialists point out the fact that the Romanians influenced the Hungarians and Szecklers located in Transylvania and their manner of cultivating the land, their clothes, their culture and so forth. The Romanian influence also showed up in the toponymy where the Hungarians took and translated the names of mountains, rivers and localities, changing them to meet the phonetic requirements of their language. But not even this phenomenon appears anywhere in the book by Kosa and Filep.

If the Romanians arrived, as the authors claim, after the Hungarians settled the area, then the Romanians, who did not know Hungarian, would have had to borrow Hungarian toponymies, as the Saxons had to do.

How could the Romanians from Transylvania, who "immigrated" at the earliest in the XII century, begin to emigrate to Poland in the XIII century? Recent research in historical demography regarding Romanian emigrations from Transylvania from the XIII to the XX century, conducted by Stefan Metes,

shows, in opposition to the outdated and contrary theory supported today by a portion of the Hungarian historiography, that Transylvania was a rich reserve of Romanian life.

Thus, the data on this problem appears not to have changed even since the appearance of Rosler's books 100 years ago and even where Romanian archeology and research into prefeudal history have contributed to the compilation of a rich and convincing material based on its continuity, variety and depth.

Even in his time A. D. Xenopol brought out in discussions certain socioeconomic arguments demonstrating that a sedentary people does not ever abandon its country, fleeing before invaders ("Rosler's Theory. Studies about the Perseverance of the Romanians in Trajan's Dacia," Iasi, 1884, pp 46-47). His idea--according to which the rural population composed of poor peasants took control of the agricultural properties after the withdrawal of the Roman legions and administration with the official abandonment of Roman Dacia thus being a motive for the further settlement of an agrarian population upon this territory--appears to us to be especially important and current.

The continuity of the Daco-Roman population throughout the entire period of migrations as well as its enduring agrarian pursuits are attested to both from an archeological point of view and a linguistic outlook. The terminology stemming from the inherited Latin base (I. Fischer in "The History of the Romanian Language," II, pp 114-115 and 163-164) to which were added the words from the native Thraco-Dacian language (I. Rusu, "The Language of the Thraco-Dacians," Third Edition, Bucharest, 1967, pp 129-130) demonstrates once again the fact that the Romanians practiced agriculture continuously and did not learn it from the Slavs or Bulgarians. Investigations undertaken in the field of agricultural terminology reveal the absolute lack of any type of agricultural terms of Hungarian origin, proving the fact that the Romanians pursued agricultural activities in Dacia a long time before the arrival of the Hungarians. Recent research by geographers shows that some forms of topographical relief, such as marginal and internal depressions in the Romanian Carpathians and large valleys (long valleys) played a significant part in the history of our people since they were the main factors of geography which ensured "the continuity of the Daco-Roman population to the north of the Danube River during the entire period of the migrations" (I. Conea, "Land of the Hateg--Geography, Toponymy and History" in *NATURE the geography series*, 3/1968, p 6; I. Conea, N. Badea, D. Oancea. "Toponymie ancienne, temioznage de la continuite daco-romaine dans les Carpathes Meridionales de l'Ouest de l'Olt," in VII Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Onomastiche, Firenze-Pisa, 4-8 April 1961, pp 328-336).

The diggings and systematic archeological research projects from the last three decades have brought forth a great number of material artifacts

which prove the existence and continuity of the life of the Romanian population after 271 A.D.: coins (D. Protase, "The Problem of Continuity in Dacia in the light of Archeology and Numismatics," Bucharest, 1966, p 160 and after, K. Horedt, "Monetary Circulation in Transylvania in the IV-XIII Centuries," Bucharest, 1958, pp 11-40), monuments and sites in city buildings recovered from the ruins of settlements that existed in the IV century and tombs and cemeteries (like that at Iernut in Bistrita-Nasaud County from the end of the III century, those at Apulum and Porolossus from the IV century and the one at Bratei from the end of the IV and the beginning of the V century).

The discovery at Bratei of a great cemetery used for cremation and having a specific Roman provincial type grave as well as other open settlements in other parts of Transylvania up to Ciurlesti (in Satu-Mare County) attest to the existence at the end of the IV century and the beginning of the next century of a Daco-Roman population that employed agriculture. Furthermore, the discovery in 1951 of a large prefeudal settlement near the village of Moresti in the Mures Valley (from the VI century) postulates the presence of a native population in this region. The continuity and ethnic and cultural unity are attested by the broad pursuit of Dridu type crops along the Ialomita (in the VIII-XI centuries), developed on the basis of the evolution of the native crops of Bratei-Filiasi and Botosani-Lozna (E. Zaharia, "Excavations from Dridu. A Contribution to the Archeology and History of the Period of Formation for the Romanian People," Bucharest, Academy Publishing House, 1967, p 94; I. Nestor, "Les donnees archeologiques et le probleme de la formation du peuple roumain," in REVUE ROUMAINE D'HISTOIRE, 3/1964, p 383 and after). This culture which covers nearly the entire Romanian territory--southeast Transylvania, Moldavia, Oltenia, and Dobrogea, as well as its preponderance in the IX-XI centuries--eloquently demonstrates the continuity of the native population pursued agriculture and the raising of cattle.

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ROMANIA

OCTOBER REVOLUTION AS REFLECTED IN ROMANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Jan 77 pp 47-55

[Article by Aron Petric and Nicolae Copoiu: "Echoes of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Romania and Its Reflection in Our Contemporary Historiography"]¹

[Text] Romanian historiography has a rich tradition of incorporating in its pursuits events that have occurred in the workers movements in other countries and struggles of the proletariat on an international scale.

The first revolution of the working class in history--the Paris Commune in 1871--has known a thorough coverage in the historiographic publications promoted in the pages of socialist and worker publications in Romania. Each year, on 18 March, the workers' gazettes published articles evocative of this event and the socialist magazines dedicated broader studies of a historical nature regarding the causes, the carrying out and the significance of the creation of the first socialist-worker state. All these materials were characterized by a powerful mobilizing call, with the historical existence of the Commune being regarded as a stimulus to fight and an experience rich in educational value.²

At the time of the congresses of the Socialist International in 1891 and 1893, the workers' organizations in our country and the Social Democrat Party of the workers in Romania clearly expressed the way they saw the balance between the development of the workers movement in Romania and the workers movement in other countries and their adherence to the principles of scientific socialism as elaborated by Marx and Engels. In their documents, they also emphasized that the Romanian Socialist Party, having a "close relationship with European socialism" due to their common purpose--the socialization of the means of production--considered it necessary to use those means "demanded by the specific conditions of its country"³ in order to achieve its goals.

A concrete example of the creative manner of the Romanian socialists in applying the principles of scientific socialism to the conditions in

Romania can be seen in the approach to the peasant problem, in which, as was said at the Socialist International Congress in Zurich, "the Romanian militants found themselves obligated to open a new path to socialism."⁴ In this sense, they also proposed a resolution to the Congress in which they noted that "one of the principal duties for socialist democracy in all the countries is to organize the agricultural workers as well as the industrial workers."⁵

After the Paris Commune, the next most important event that the Romanian workers movement saluted and assisted with special warmth, while at the same time noting this event in its publications, was the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905-1907 in Russia. Although the entire scope of this revolutionary event was not published to a great degree in the historiographic studies in Romanian literature, an important aspect--that of the solidarity of the Romanian workers movement with the struggle of the Russian proletariat against Czarism and especially about the problem of removing the revolutionary crew from the cruiser Potemkin in June 1905 at Constanta--enjoyed special attention from the socialist press prior to 1914.

Before World War I, the calendar of celebrations for the workers movement and the party of the working class in Romania contained 18 March, the day of the proclamation of the Paris Commune, and in 1905, the 24th day of January which, in addition to the national significance noting the unification of the Romanian Principalities in 1859, acquired a new significance--the struggle against Czarism--beginning with the opening of hostilities on 9 January 1905 and which the Romanian socialists saluted by way of a great public meeting in Bucharest on 24 January 1905.

In Romania, the workers movement paid special interest to the carrying out of the revolutionary struggles in Russia. In this regard, it was united with the entire progressive public opinion in the country which considered Czarism, as did workers movements in the western countries, as a true block in the path of the process of democratization and social and national liberation in both Russia and certain neighboring countries, including Romania. The Romanian socialists knew the opinions of F. Engels who, in his letters of 1888 addressed directly to them, pointed out that Czarism represented the principal block in the path of unity and independence of the Romanian people, foreseeing the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire 2 days after the fall of the czarist empire and making it easier to see the possibility of liberating those nations ruled by these artificial states. To this end, the socialist and workers press in Romania described in depth the deportations and czarist prisons, emphasizing in this manner the need for the ruthless struggle against this absolutist regime. The Romanian socialists published tens of articles about the heroism of the revolutionary fighters in Russia. Among those fighters who were arrested and deported and nominally mentioned in the Romanian socialist press, was V. I. Lenin, whose name, Ulianov, was published for the first time in Romania in April 1897.⁶

The workers movement and the Social Democrat Party in Romania also maintained this attitude after the outbreak of the First World War. During the years 1914-1916, the Romanian socialist press published numerous reports about the revolutionary movement in Russia and about the struggle of the Bolshevik Party, led by V. I. Lenin.

It is a specially significant fact that in the Romanian socialist press the conviction was expressed many times that the outbreak of a new revolution was imminent in the czarist empire. At a conference held in January 1913, Ecaterina Arbore, member of the leadership of the Social Democrat Party, wrote that in Russia "the new revolution will have true power and will lead to the downfall of the czar."⁷ Two years later, an editorial in the gazette LUPTA ZILNICA [The Daily Struggle] of 29 May 1915, the central mouthpiece of the party, wrote some foreboding lines about the outbreak of the revolution in Russia: "The revolution is in progress in Russia. The circumstances favor it and are preparing for it. And the time will come when it will begin. Let us salute the coming revolution."

We emphasize these aspects regarding the revolutionary Romano-Russian relations prior to the revolution in October in order to more easily understand the orientation of the historical literature written in Romania after 1917. A part of this literature belonged to the party and organizations of the working class. This historiographic literature reflected the main position of the workers' party in Romania which on the second day cheered the victory of the Bolshevik revolution as a great event in the history of the international proletariat. In differing from the other workers parties of the western European countries which, understanding Marxism in a dogmatic vein, considered the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia--a backward country from an economic point of view--as being impossible or in any case unavoidable and awaited its reversal or fall, the party of the working class in Romania not only saluted the victory of the Russian Revolution, but expressed, in its press, a full belief in its durability. This attitude reflected the creative spirit that the socialists in Romania proved they had in understanding the Marxist principles which each party was bound to apply to the specific, concrete conditions in each country.

History and the ultimate flow of events have confirmed the correctness of the position of the Romanian revolutionaries.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, a grandiose event, was a crossroads in the history of mankind. What the great enlightened personages in the history of mankind foresaw as utopic and Marx and Engels projected as scientific and what the Paris Commune had announced through its meteoric proclamation, the Great October Socialist Revolution had to bring to life. In the calendar of universal history, October 1917 in Russia marked the beginning of a new era in the life of society on our planet, an era of mankind passing from capitalism to socialism. The October Revolution was the shining culmination of a revolutionary struggle, full of sacrifices, carried out by the proletariat and the popular masses in Russia, under

the wise leadership of the communist party forged by Lenin. Its principal effect was the creation of the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, by transforming a multinational empire into a secular autocratic power in a workers state. By removing one of the great countries of the world from the imperialist system, the imperialists were dealt a powerful blow.

The victory of the proletariat in Russia and the ideas of October stimulated the revolutionary development of the working class and the working masses all over the world, resounding like an inspired call in the struggle to attain the aspirations of liberty and progress and for social and national liberation. An important chapter in universal history was recorded by the powerful actions of the working class and the progressive forces in numerous countries, including Romania, demonstrating solidarity with the proletariat's struggle in Russia to defend soviet power and to crush the military intervention undertaken by reactionary world forces. This type of appreciation, which the Romanian Communist Party has always given, over the course of six decades, to the October Revolution was recently reaffirmed in the speech presented by the secretary general of the RCP, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture in June 1976: "The victory of the 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the establishment of the first worker-peasant state in history showed the world, especially the exploited classes and the subjugated peoples, that the old society based upon inequality and social injustices will not last forever and that it is entering the phase when it will disappear, beginning a new era, the era of creating the socialist order, the era of national liberation of the people."⁸

Like all great events in the history of the world, the Russian Revolution also received special attention from the historians. Regardless of the political orientation or their position regarding the proletarian revolution, historians had to take into account the carrying out of this great event, its echo and influence in other countries and the consequences for international life of states and people and, especially, for the struggle of the working class.

Romanian historiography had additional motives for giving increased interest to understanding and analyzing the events of 1917 and the years that followed since the geographical proximity of the Romanian state to the Russian state in 1916 brought about military and political alliances for the two countries, with important consequences for them, especially for the Romanian people, both prior to the October Revolution and after the victory. That is why only in Romania was it possible to put together, in the period 1917-1944, a⁹ bibliographic volume dedicated to the history of the October Revolution.

In evaluating the content of this historiographic literature included in this volume, one must keep in mind that in the period of 30 years over which it was compiled, it was written and published under the conditions imposed by a bourgeois-capitalist regime that was hostile, from an ideological point of view, to the principles of the October Revolution. For

that reason, besides the communist and socialist literature that was sympathetic to the truths about the Great October Socialist Revolution, numerous writings were published whose range of understanding the revolution was very broad. This literature reflected, naturally, the different positions of public opinion in Romania and all the social classes and categories. It is no secret to anyone that the leading groups and rich classes in Romania regarded Bolshevism in Russia as an enemy. But, equally true is the fact that a series of their representatives had a realistic attitude towards the soviet state, understanding the need for revolution in Russia and militating for good neighborly relations with the USSR.

The bibliography published in 1967 included those titles of books, brochures, studies and articles which appeared in Romania and which presented events and actions from the time of the Great October Socialist Revolution, took positions toward the problems of the revolution and brought to light the world importance of the October Revolution. The work highlights those articles which deal with Romanian-Soviet relations during the period 1917-1920, actions showing Romania's solidarity with the Russian Revolution and the contributions made by Romanian participants in the struggle for the defense and aid to the Soviet powers against its domestic and foreign enemies.

The hunt for articles and information from the press called for a project of great proportions. The list of periodicals numbered over 2,000 titles, among which were the periodicals of the workers and democratic movement, having all kinds of nuances, plus the larger gazettes and magazines of the bourgeois press whose attitude was significant for the position of the leading classes and their political parties. Research was conducted in all of the periodicals from 1917-1920, all the legal and illegal working press for the period 1921-1944, and from the bourgeois press were selected articles that referred to the 1917-1920 period. Periodicals were examined that appeared in Romanian, Hungarian, and German from our country as well as certain Romanian publications that appeared abroad, but belonged to the Romanian workers movement.

Without a doubt, the Romanian historiographical literature published during the period 1917-1944, under the inspiration of the Communist Party, has distinctive traits. In those years, the October Revolution was the only victorious proletarian revolution in history and the soviet state was the first and only socialist state in the world. Under these conditions, communist historiography glorified the 1917 Revolution according to those aspects of it which corresponded to the tactics of the struggle of the communist parties affiliated with the Comintern. An important aspect of the October Revolution, as represented by the struggle for the national liberation of the people and which constituted one of the great sources of its success, was blurred in Marxist historiography not only in the inter-war period, but for a long time after the last war. A second aspect which, likewise, was unilaterally and even minimally presented was the attitude of the party of the working class and the Socialist Party in Romania

toward the Russian Revolution and their profound adherence and enthusiastic assistance to the Bolshevik Revolution. The cause of this misrepresentation of the position of the party of the working class was found in the erroneous manner in which an explanation was sought to explain the affiliation of the Socialist Party in Romania to the Comintern by its division into currents and by exaggerating the role of communist groups, normally explained by persons outside the country who did not know the concrete political, social and national situation in Romania after the achievement of a unified Romanian state.

Having mentioned the deficiencies of the Marxist historiography in Romania of nearly 50 years ago regarding the October Revolution and its echo in Romania, we have already advanced certain characteristic traits of Romanian historiography referring to this problem as developed in Romania in the past 10 years. The careful analysis of the documents of the workers movement in Romania during the years 1916-1921¹⁰ has inevitably led our historians to a series of conclusions of special significance for the treasury of wisdom of the working class party in Romania for that period. First, one can observe that the socialist party maintained its Marxist heritage, which it had had since its creation in 1893 and which it had consolidated after 1910, while it discussed with great tact the new problems placed before it after the victory of the proletarian revolution in a neighboring country. History must recognize the correctness of the position of the working class party in Romania as affirmed in a practical way during the time of these events, which brought about the achievement of national unity for the Romanian people and, in a principled, theoretical vein, in the Declaration of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party on 13 February 1919.¹¹ This position did not divert the party from the class struggle, from affirming the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat in its programmatic documents and from the powerful actions for the solidarity and assistance to the revolution and the soviet state. The great works published in the last decade, such as "The Creation of the Romanian Communist Party"¹² and "The Workers Movement in Romania During the Years 1916-1921"¹³ have reestablished the historical profile of the working class party in Romania, its tumultuous activities and the unity of its ranks that was the fundamental principle of the workers movement in our country, where, not until 1921, there did not exist but a single workers party and a single central trade union. At this time, there was a clarification, through certain measures, of the role of the so-called communist groups, which, if they initiated the action of affiliating with the Comintern, produced an organizational confusion in the party by prematurely initiated illegal activities outside the party.

By reestablishing the historical profile of the party and analyzing the data about the workers movement during the years of revolutionary enthusiasm from 1918 to 1920, it was possible to more clearly identify lines of strength of working class solidarity in Romania and its party with the revolution in Russia. It may not be the sole motive, but it is certain

that the position of the Romanian proletariat as an organized group contributed to preventing the Romanian government from entering into conflict with the Soviet state at a time when that state was in the midst of a full-blown civil war.¹⁴ The great workers demonstrations in sympathy for and in support of the Russian Revolution, organized in Bucharest and other cities throughout the country, created a strong current of public opinion favorable to Soviet Russia.¹⁵ The representatives in the parliament, and not only the socialist, but even some ministers (such as Dr Nicolae Lupu), made statements friendly to the new Soviet state at a time when the socialist press was writing every day about the imminent crushing of the Bolsheviks by the interventionists and White Guards.¹⁶

An important chapter of the history of the Russian Revolution, which Romanian historiography has put to good use only over the last ten years, was the participation of Romanians in the armed fighting, in Russia, in the defense of the October Revolution. A series of documents, made available through the good will of soviet archives and libraries, have made it possible for Romanian historians to reconstruct, without a doubt with certain approximations and gaps, the paths of thousands of compatriots who, during the years of 1917-1920, were called "internationalists," were at the immense fronts of the civil war in Russia.¹⁷

At the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, there were still over 400 Romanian veterans alive who fought in defense of the Russian Revolution and were decorated by the Soviet Government with high honors and medals, including five "Order of Lenin" medals. Unfortunately, the most prominent figure, M. Gh. Bujor, one of the leaders of our party prior to World War I, who paid with 14 years in prison for his attachment to the cause of the Russian Revolution, died 3 years before the revolution. His memory, however, which evoked the creation of Romanian revolutionary battalions at Odessa in December 1917 and which, in the opinion of academician I. I. Mint, constituted the "primary" internationalist force in support of the Bolsheviks, as well as his meetings with Lenin, constitute a precious documentary and historiographical literature alongside the memoirs of over 80 other veterans of the Russian Revolution who left Romania to fight in Russia.¹⁸

As we pointed out above, Romanian historiography of the past few years has restored to the international significance of the October Revolution a neglected facet of the revolution: its role in the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in the liberation and self-determination of those people subjugated within its former borders. The great works dedicated to the Unification of Transylvania and Bucovina with Romania in 1918¹⁹ give a place of honor to the favorable influence of the ideas of national liberty found upon the flag of the October Revolution. Furthermore, a good part of the Romanians who fought alongside the Bolsheviks in Russia were Transylvanians who were eager to participate in the triumph of a principle which they later brought home--national liberation.²⁰

The realization of certain fundamental works by Romanian historiography regarding the Great October Socialist Revolution is noted in a broader scientific and political objective which concerns the history of the international workers movement. Romanian historians consider that the best contribution they can make to the research and understanding of the international workers movement is to achieve, first of all, a history of the workers movement in Romania and of the communist party and its relations with the international workers movement and the working class organizations in each country with which it had relations. Within the framework of this broad objective, Romanian historiography has published a series of volumes dedicated to revolutionary relationships such as Romanian-Soviet,²¹ Romanian-Bulgarian,²² Romanian-French,²³ Romanian-Chinese,²⁴ Romanian-Spanish,²⁵ and Romanian-Hungarian,²⁶ and there are being written volumes regarding the relations of the Romanians with the revolutionary movements in other countries--Yugoslavia, Germany, Poland and so forth. Without a doubt this type of approach to the international workers movement is of such a nature so as to revive for the new generations of workers in our country the traditions of friendship between peoples, traditions which, in the highest manner, developed the working class and its party.

FOOTNOTES

1. A report given at the IX session of the Commission on the problem "The History of the Great October Revolution and the Socialist and Popular-Democrat Revolutions," 26 October 1976.
2. "Dacia viitoare" [Future Dacia], Paris-Bruxelles, 1883, pp 49-54; "Viitorul social" [The Social Future], Iasi-Bucharest, No 2, February 1908, and so forth.
3. "Munca" [Work], No 26, 18 August 1891.
4. "Munca," No 29, 12 September 1893.
5. "Presa muncitoreasca si socialista din Romania 1865-1900, partea II 1890-1900" [The Socialist and Workers Press in Romania 1865-1900, and Part II 1890-1900], Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1964, p 102.
6. "Miscarea Sociala" [The Socialist Movement], of 6 April 1897.
7. "Romania muncitoare" [Working Romania], No 7, of 27 January 1913.
8. Nicolae Ceausescu, "The Speech Regarding the Political-Ideological and Cultural-Educational Activity of Creating the New Man, the Aware and Devoted Builder of the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Communism in Romania," presented at the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture, 2 June 1976, Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1976, p 18.

9. "Lucrari si publicatii din Romania despre Marea revolutie socialista in octombrie, 1917-1944" [Works and Publications in Romania About the Great October Socialist Revolution, 1917-1944], Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Bucharest, 1967.
10. "Documente din istoria miscarii muncitoresti din Romania 1916-1921" [Documents From the History of the Workers Movement in Romania 1916-1921], Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1966.
11. Ibidem, pp 165-166.
12. "Crearea Partidului Comunist Roman, mai 1921" [The Creation of the Romanian Communist Party, May 1921], under the editorship of Ion Popescu-Puturi and Augustin Deac, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1971.
13. Clara Cusnir-Mihailovici, Florea Dragne, Gheorghe Unc, "Miscarea muncitoreasca din Romania, 1916-1921" [The Workers Movement in Romania, 1916-1921], Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1971.
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17. V. Cherestiesiu, N. Copoiu, "Participarea oamenilor muncii din Romania la apararea si sprijinirea Marii Revolutii socialiste din octombrie" [The Participation of Workers from Romania in the Defense of and Assistance to The Great October Socialist Revolution] in "Anale de istorie" [Annals of History] No 4, 1967.
18. "Marea Revolutie socialista din octombrie si miscarea revolutionara si democratica din Romania. Documente si amintiri" [The Great October Socialist Revolution and the Revolutionary and Democratic Movement in Romania. Documents and Memoirs], Politica Publishing House,

Bucharest, 1967; Bujor's memoirs were published in: "Contributii la studiul influentei Marii Revolutii Socialiste din Octombrie in Romania" [Contributions to the Study of the Influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Romania], Bucharest, E.P.L.P., 1957 (pp 47-80), "Lenin vazut de romani" [Lenin Seen by Romanians], "Documente si amintiri" [Documents and Memoirs], Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1970, pp 544-548.

19. "Unirea Transilvaniei cu Romania. 1 decembrie 1918" [The Unification of Transylvania with Romania. 1 December 1918], under the editorship of I. Popescu-Puturi and Augustin Deac, Bucharest, 1972; "Desavirsirea unificarii statului national roman. Unirea Transilvaniei cu vechea Romania" [The Carrying Out of the Unification of the Romanian National State. The Unification of Transylvania with Old Romania], under the editorship of Miron Constantinescu and Stefan Pascu, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Academy of the RSR, 1968.
20. Nicolae Copoiu, "Ideile marxismului biruitor si lupta popoarelor pentru autodeterminare in anul 1918" [The Ideas of Victorious Marxism and the Struggle of the People for Self-Determination in the Year 1918] in "Analele Institutului de studii istorice si social-politice de pe linga CC al PCR" [The Annals of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies Alongside the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party], No 6, 1968, pp 46-57.
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22. "Solidaritatea miscarii muncitoresti si democratice din Romania cu miscarea muncitoreasca si democratica din Bulgaria," Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1974; "Gheorghii Dimitrov si traditiile revolutionare romano-bulgare" [Gheorghii Dimitrov and the Romanian-Bulgarian Revolutionary Traditions], Bucharest, 1972.
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25. "Voluntari romani in Spania 1936-1939, Amintiri si documente" [Romanian Volunteers in Spain 1936-1939, Memoirs and Documents], Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1971.
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ROMANIA

MANIA FOR FOREIGN MEDICINES CRITICIZED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Apr 77 p 1

[Interview with Lecturer Dr Docent Pavel Pitea, deputy scientific director of the Institute for Hygiene and Public Health in Cluj-Napoca by Elena Mantu: "The Mirage of Medicines and the Danger of Self-Medication"]

[Excerpts] [Interviewer]: What about the mirage of foreign medicines?

[Pitea]: It is known that our drug industry has made great progress, both in regard to the production of the entire range of necessary medicinal products and in regard to the level of their quality. Nevertheless, some patients still insist that "foreign" medicines be prescribed for them. They think that they are more effective. What a mistake!

New Romanian medicines appear in the pharmacies after a thorough chemical, experimental, and biological testing in the pilot station and in the clinic. So why do we run after magical formulas and foreign products at a time when our drug industry is producing all the necessary products which are just as effective? For example, why do we prescribe Rowachol instead of the Romanian products Colebil or Fiobilin which are just as good; why do we prescribe Gelusil emulsion instead of Ulcerotrat, Calmogastrin, or Trisilicam and why Festal instead of Triferment, Saprozan, and Mexaform, Romanian products which are just as good? These are only a few examples.

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